**The history and description of Africa and of the notable things therein contained, Vol. 3**

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0 THE
HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF AFRICA
OF
LEO AFRICANUS.
VOL. III.
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THE HISTORY
AND DESCRIPTION OF AFRICA
AND OF THE NOTABLE THINGS THEREIN CONTAINED,
WRITTEN BY
AL-HASSAN IBN-MOHAMMED AL-WEZAZ AL-FASI,
A MOOR, BAPTISED AS GIOVANNI LEONE, BUT BETTER KNOWN AS LEO AFRICANUS.
DONE INTO ENGLISH IN THE YEAR 1600,
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IOHN LEO HIS FIFTH BOOKE OF the Historie of Africa, and of the memorable fhings contained therein.
A description of the kingdomes of Bugia and Tunis.
Hen as in the former part of this my historie I diuided Barbaria into certaine parts, I determined to write of Bugia as of a kingdome by it selfe: and I found indeed that not many yeeres ago it was a kingdome. For Bugia was subject to the king of Tunis, and albeit for certaine yeeres the king of Telensin was Lord thereof, yet was it at length recouered againe by the king of Tunis, who committed the
government of the city vnto one of his sons, both for the tranquillitie of Bugia.,
and also that no discord might happen among his sonnes after his decease. He left
behinde him three sonnes, the eldest whereof was called Habdulhaziz, and vnto
him he bequeathed the kingdome of Bugia, as is aforesaide: vnto the second,
whose name was Hutnen, he left the kingdome of Tunis: and the third called
Hammare, he made gouernour of the region of dates. This Hammare began
forthwith to wage warre against his brother Huthnen, by whom being at length
taken in the towne of Asfacos, & YY2

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deprued of both his eies, he was carried captiue vnto Tunis, where he liued many
yeeres blinde: but his brother Hutmen gouerned the kingdome of Tunis full fortie
yeeres. The prince of Bugia being most louing and dutifull to his brother, raigned
for many yeeres with great tranquilitie, till at length he was by king Ferdinand of
Spaine, and by the meanes of one Pedro de Nauarra, cast out of his kingdome.1

A description of the great citie of Bugia.

The Romans, vpon the side of an high mountaine, neere vnto the Mediterran sea, is
enuironed with walles of great height, and most stately in regard of their
antiquitie. The part thereof now peopled containeth aboue eight thousand
families: but if it were all replenished with buildings, it were capeable of more
then fower and twentie thousand housholds, for it is of a great length. The houses,
temples, and colleges of this citie are most sumptuously built. Professors of
liberall sciences heere are great store, whereof some teach matters pertaining to
the lawe, and others professe naturall Philosophie. Neither Monasteries, Innes, nor
Hospitals erected after their manner are heere wanting: and their market place is
very large and faire: their streetes either descend or ascend, which is verie
troublesome to them that haue any busines in the towne. In that part of the citie
next vnto the toppe of the mountaine standeth a strong castle, most sumptuously
and beautifully walled: and there are such notable letters and pictures most
artificially carued vpon the plaister-worke and timber, that they are thought to
haue cost much more then the building of the wall it selfe.2 The citizens were
exceeding rich, and vsed with their warlike gallies continually to molest the coasts
of Spaine ; which was the occasion of the vtter ouerthrowe of their citie. For
Pedro de Nauarra

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was sent against them with a fleete of fowerteene sailes onely. The citizens being
addicted whollie to pleasure The citieof Bugia taken by
and ease, and being terrrified with the rumour of warre, Pedro de bicausen they
were neuer exercised therein, were no sooner aduertised of Pedro de Nauarra his
approch, but al of them togither with their king betooke themselues to flight, and
left their citie abounding with all kinde of riches and wealth, to bee spoiled by the
Spaniards, so that it was easily taken, in the yeere of Mahomet his Hegeira nine
hundred and seuenteene.3 Soone after Pedro de Nauarra hauing sacked the citie,
built a strong forte vpon the sea shore, and repaired an other which had lien a long time. waste, furnishing them both with soldiers and munition. And sixe yeeres after, Barbarossa the Turke being desirous to winne this citie from the Christians, and hauing leuied onely a thousand soldiers, tooke the old forte, bicause he was fauoured by the inhabitants of all the mountaines adiacent: wherein hauing placed a garrison, he attempted to winne the other fort also: but at his first encounter he lost an hundred of his principall Turkes, & fower hundred of the mountaineers that came to aide him; insomuch that Barbarossa was enforced to flie vnto the castle of Gegel, as is aforesaid.

Of the Castle of Gegel.

This ancient castle built by the Africans, vpon an high rocke by the Mediterran sea, is distant about threescore miles from Bugia. Families it containeth to the number of flue hundred; and the buildings thereof are very base. The inhabitants are of a trustie and ingenuous disposition, and do most of them exercise husbandrie: howbeit their fieldes are but barren, and apt onely for barley, flaxe, and hempe. They haue great store of figs and nuts, which they use to carrie in certaine barkes vnto Tunis, They haue in despight of the kings of Bugia, as is aforesaid.

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and Tunis continued alwaies free from tribute: for that impregnable mountaine can be surprised by no siege nor encounter of the enimie. At length they yeelded themselues vnto Barbarossa, who demaunded none other tribute of them, but onely the tenths of certaine fruits and come.4

Of the towne of Mesila.

Mesila founded by the Romans not far from the Numidian desert, and being distant from Bugia almost an hundred miles, hath stately wals about it, but base houses within. The inhabitants being partly artificers and partly husbandmen, goe very homely apparelled, and are most greeuously oppressed with the continuall exactions of the Arabians, and with the daily molestations of the king of Bugia. My selfe vpon a time troulling this way, could not finde so much fodder as was sufficient for twelue horses onely5

Of the towne of Stefe.

This towne also built by the Romans, sixtie miles southward of Bugia, vpon a certaine beautifull plaine, is enuironed with strong and stately walles. It was in times past exceedingly well stored with inhabitants: but since the Mahumetans were Lords thereof, it hath so decayed by the injuries of the Arabians, who razed to the ground a great part of the wall, that within the whole circuit of this great and ancient towne, there are but an hundred houses at this present remaining.6

Of the towne of Necaus.

This towne built by the Romans neere vnto Numidia, Tand being distant from the Mediterran sea an hundred and eighty, and from the towne last mentioned eightie miles, is compassed with a strong and ancient wall. By this towne runneth a certaine riuer, on both sides
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whereof grow the best wal-nuts and figs that are to be found in the whole
kingdome of Tunis, being vsually carried to Constantina to be solde, which citie is
thence distant an hundred and eightie miles. The fields of this towne are
exceeding fruitfull, and the inhabitants are very rich, liberall, and curious in their
apparell. Here is an hospitall maintained at the common charges of the towne, to
entertaine strangers that passe by. Here is a college also, the students whereof are
allowed their diet and apparell. Neither is this towne destitute of a most stately
and well-furnished temple. Their women are white, hauing blacke haires and a
most delicate skinne, because they frequent the bath-stoues so often. Most of their
houses are but of one storie high, yet are they very decent, and haue each one a
garden thereto belonging, replenished with damaske-roses, myrtles, cammomill,
and other herbes and flowers, and being watred with most pleasant fountaines. In
these gardens likewise there are most stately arbours and bowres,-the coole
shadow whereof in summer-time is most acceptable. And (to be briefe) all things
here are so delightfull to the senses, and so alluring, that any man would be loth to
depart from hence.

Of the towne of Chollo.

The great towne of Chollo founded by the Romans,
vpon the Mediterrar sea, at the foot of a certaine high mountaine, is enuironed
with no walles at all: for the walles were razed to the ground by the Goths :
neither did the Mahumetans, when they had got possession, build them vp againe.
Howbeit this towne is notably well gouerned, and well stored with in
abitants, which are all men of a liberall and tractable disposition. They haue cont
inually

great traffique with the merchants of Genoa, and doe gather abundance of waxe
and hides. Their fieldes vpon the mountaine are exceeding fruitfull, and they haue

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alwaies so defended themselues against the princes of Tunis and Constantina, that
vtntill this present they remaine free from tribute. From the injurie of Constantina
they are easily defended, both in regarde of the difficult mountaines lying in the
mid-way, and also in respect of the great distance ; for Constantina standeth
almost an hundred and twenty miles off. Neither is there any citie throughout the
whole kingdome of Tunis, either for wealth, or strong situation, any way
comparable vnto this.

Of the towne of Sucaicada.

T His ancient citie built by the Romans also vpon the
Mediterran sea, at standing about thirtie flue miles from Constantina, was
wasted and almost vterly destroyed by the Goths : howbeit by reason of the hauen
being so famous and so frequented by the merchants of Genoa, the prince of
Constantina caused certaine faire houses to be built thereabouts, for the said
merchants of Genoa, to repose themselues and their goodes therein : and vpon a
mountaine not farre off he built a strong castle, for the securitie and defence of the
said merchants from all enemies whatsoever. From the said hauen to Constantina the high way is paved with certaine black stones, such as are to be seene in some places of Italie, being there called Le strade Romane, which is a manifest argument, that Sucaicada was built by the Romans.9
Of the citie of Constantina.
No man can deny the Romans to have beene founders of this citie, that shall consider the great strength, height, and antiquitie of the walles, and how curiously they are beset and adorned with blacke stones.10 This citie standeth upon the south side of an exceeding high mountaine, and is enuironed with steepe rocks, under which rocks and within the compasse whereof runneth the river

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called Susegmare, so that the said deepe river with the rocks on either side, serueth in stead of a towne-ditch to Constantina. The north part is compassed with a wall of great thicknes: and there are two extreme narrow passages onely, to enter into the citie, one on the east part, and another on the west. The citie-gates are very large and stately. The citie it selfe containeth aboue eight thousand families. Buildings it hath very sumptuous, as namely, the chiefe temple, two colleges, three or fewer monasteries, and other such like. Here euery trade and occupation hath a seuerall place assigned: and the inhabitants are right honest and valiant people. Here is likewise a great companie of merchants, whereof some sell cloth and wooll, others send oile and silke into Numidia, and the residue exchange linnen-cloth and other wares for slaves and dates. Neither are dates so cheape in any region of all Barbarie besides. The kings of Tunis usually commit the gouverment of Constantina vnto their eldest sonnes: and so he that is now king of Tunis bestowed Constantina vpon his The hard successe of the eldest sonne in like sort: who waging warre against the king of Tunis his three Arabians was slaine in the first battel. Then fel the sonnes. gouverment of Constantina vnto his second sonne, whose intemperate life was the cause of his sudden and untimely death. After him succeeded the third and yongest sonne, who in regarde of his insolent and shamelesse behauiour, was so hated of all the citizens, that some had determined to kill him: whereof his father hauing intelligence, sent for him, and kept him for certaine yeeres prisoner at Tunis. Afterward he committed the gouverment of Constantina to a certaine Renegado that of a Christian became a Mahumetan: this Renegado he trusted as his owne brother, for he had made former triall of him: who for many yeeres governed the place with great tranquillitie.12 Vpon the north part of the citie standeth a certaine strong castle built at the same time when the citie it selfe was built;

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which castle was more strongly fortified then before, by one Elcaied Nabil the kings lieutenant: and this castle greatly bridled both the citizens, and all the bordering Arabians, whose great captaine it held as prisoner, and released him
not, till he had left his three sons for hostages. At length the said Elcaied grew so hautie, that he coined money, to the great contempt of his king and soueraigne, whom notwithstanding he endeavoured by many gifts and presents to appease. But when men perceived Elcaied to degenerate from his first forme of government, they that before loved him, and had him in high regarde, were presently of another minde, and utterly forsooke him. So that laying siege unto a certaine citie of Numididia called Pescara, he perceived some treason to be attempted against him: and thereupon returning forthwith to Constantina, he found the citie-gates shut against him: from whence he presently tooke his journey to the king of Tunis, and was by him cast into prison, and not restored to libertie, till he had paid an hundred thousand duckats. Afterward by the kings aide he was restored to his former governement: but when he began to tyrannize ouer some of the chiefe citizens, he againe prouoked the whole citie unto armes, who besieged forthwith the castle whereunto he fled, which was such a corrasiue unto Elcaied his minde, that within few daies he died for sorrow.13 And so the people after they were reconciled to their king, would from thenceforth neuer admit any forren gouernour: wherefore the king of Tunis was (as is aforesaied) againe constrained to send his owne sonnes thither. The fields belonging to this citie are exceeding fertill. And on either side the riuer which runneth through the plaines, there are most commodious gardens, if they were well husbanded. Also without the citie stand many faire and ancient buildings. About a mile and a halfe from the citie standeth a certaine triumphall arch, like vnto the triumphall arches at Rome, 7o6

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which the grosse common people thinke to haue beene a castle where innumerable diuels remained, which (they say) were expelled by the Mahometans, when they came first to inhabite Constantina.14 From the citie to the riuer they descend by certayne staires hewen out of the rocke: and neere vnto the riuer standeth a little house so artificially cut out of the maine rocke, that the rooffe, pillers, and walles are all of one continued substance, and here the women of Constantina wash their linnen. Neere vnto the citie likewise there is a certaine bath of hot water dispersing Hot bats. it selfe among the rocks: in this bath are great store of snailes, which the fond women of the citie call Diuels: and when any one falleth into a feuer or any other disease, they suppose the snailes to be the authors thereof.15 And the A fond and senseles superonely remedie that they can apply vpon such an occasion stition. is this: first they kill a white hen, putting her into a platter with her feathers on, and then verie solemnly with waxe candles they carry her to the bath, and there leaue her: and many good fellows there are, which so soone as the silly women haue set downe their hens at the bath, wil come secretly thither, and conuey away the hens to their owne kitchins. Somewhat farther from the citie eastward there is a fountaine of extreme cold water, and neere vnto it standeth a certaine building of marble adorned with sundrie Hieroglyphicall pictures or emblemes, such as I haue seene at Rome, and at many other places of Europe. But the common people imagine that it was in times past a Gramar-schoole, & because both the masters and schollers thereof
were most vitious, they were transformed (say they) into marble.16 The inhabitants twice every year send great store of wares into Numidia: and because as they travel, they are in danger of the Arabian thieves, they hire certain Turkish Harquebusiers for great wages to guard them. The merchants of Constantina travelling to Tunis pay no tribute at all, but only at their departure.

**Title Fifth Booke of The**

S. Augustine in times past bishop of Hippo.

From forth of Constantina for the worth of every 100 ducats in merchandise, they allow two ducats and a half.

Of the town of Mela.

This town built by the Romans within twelve miles of Constantina, and environsed with most strong walls, containeth almost three thousand families: but at this present there are but few buildings by reason of the wars that have happened. Here are great store of artizans: the most whereof are such weavers as make coverlets. In the marketplace there is a most clear fountain. The citizens are valiant, though they be of rude behaviour. Here is abundance, not only of fruits (whereupon some think the name of the town to be derived) but also of cattle and corn. Unto this town the governor of Constantina sends every year a certain judge, to decide the townsmen's controversies, and to receive the yearly tribute: howbeit oftentimes the said judge is slain by the people."

Of the ancient town of Bona.

This town built by the Romans upon the Mediterranean sea, almost 120 miles more to the west was in ancient times called Hippo, where the reverend father Saint Augustine was once Bishop. It was in process of time subdued by the Goths, and was afterward surprised and burnt to ashes by Hutmen the third patriarch after Mahumet. And many years after they built a new town within two miles of the stones that were brought from the ruins of Bona: which new town they called Beld Elhuneb, that is, the city of the fruit called Ziziphus or Iuiuba, by reason of the great abundance of that fruit: the which they use to dry in the sun, and to keep till winter.18 It containeth almost three hundred families, and

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All the houses and buildings thereof are very base, save one only temple which standeth next the sea. The inhabitants are all of an ingenuous disposition, some of them being merchants, and the residue artizans. Here is great store of linen-cloth woven, the greatest part whereof is carried to Numidia. The inhabitants of this town having upon a time slain their governors, were so bold as to threaten the king of Tunis: and they had without all doubt betrayed the town unto the Christians, had not the king of Tunis taken specially heed thereunto.19 In this town are certaine lewd people and most beggarly apparelled, which notwithstanding are highly revered by the citizens. Here are no fountains, nor
yet any water at all, but rainewater onely which is kept in cesterns.20 On the east side of the towne standeth a strong castle built by the king of Tunis, where the governour of the towne appointed by the king hath his aboad. Vnto this towne adiyoyneth a most large plaine, containing in length fortie, and in breadth two miles: verie commodious for corne, and is inhabited by certaine Arabians called Merdez: these Arabians haue great store of cattell and but little money; and they bring good store of butter dayly vnto Bona. Vnto this towne the people of Tunis, of the isle of Gerbi, and of Genoa use yeerely to resort, and to buy great abundance of corne and butter. Every friday they haue neere vnto the towne walls a market, which is well frequented even till night. Not farre from hence there is a certaine place in the sea, abounding with great store of corall: and because the townesmen know not how to fish for the same, the king of Tunis licenced certaine merchants of Genoa to fish for it: who in regard of the continuall assaults of pirates, because they could not speed of their purpose, they obtained leaue also of the king to build a castle neere the place: but that the townesmen would in no case permit, saying that the Genoueses in times

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past tooke their towne by such a wile, and that it was afterward recovered againe by the king of Tunis.21 Of he towne of Tefas.

THE towne of Tefas founded by the Africans vpon the side of a mountaine, and standing almost an hundred and fiftie miles southward of Bona, was in times past verie populous, and full of braue buildings, but it hath beene since destroyed by the Arabians. Afterward being replanted with new inhabitants, and remaining free from war for certayne moneths, it was the second time destroyed by the Arabians. Last of all (because it was a place commodious for corne) it was inhabited the third time by certaine Africans, called Haoara, and that by the ayde of a certaine prince brother vnto him, which had slaine Enasir the king of Tunis his sonne: but now all that remained of this towne was utterly razed by the king of Tunis.22 Of the citie of Tebessa.

This great and strong citie built by the Romans neere vnto Numidia, and being distant two hundred miles southward from the Mediterranean sea, is compassed with an high wall made of such stones as are to be scene vpon the Colosso at Rome: neither saw I, to my remembrance, any such walls in all Africa or Europe: and yet the houses and other buildings are verie base. Through part of this citie runneth a great riuer: and in the market, and diversother places stand certaine marble pillers, hauing Epigrams and sentences with Latin letters engraufen vpon them: there are also other square pillers of marble covered with roofs. The plaines adiacent albeit verie drie, yet are they most fruitfull for corne. Five miles from hence grow such abundance of wall-nut-trees, as you would take them to be some thicke forrest. Neere vnto this towne standeth a certaine hill full of mighty caues, wherein the common
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people say, that giants inhabited of olde: but it is most euident, that those caues were digged by the Romans at the same time when they built the citie: for certaine it is that the stones whereof the citie-walles consist, were taken out of those rockes. The inhabitants are- people of a couetous, inhumane, and beastly disposition; neither will they vouchsafe to looke vpon a stranger: insomuch that Eldabag a famous Poet of the citie of Malaga, in Granada, hauing in his trauell this way receiued some discourtesie, wrote in disgrace of Tebessa certaine satyricall verses, which my selfe likewise haue thought good here to set downe in the dispraise thereof.

Within this place here’s nought of any worth,
Saue worthies nuts, which Tebessa affourds.
Soft, I mistake, the marble walles are worth
Your earnest view, so are the Christall-fourds:
But hence are banisht vertues all diuine.
The place is hell, the people worse than swine.
This Eldabag was a most learned and elegant Poet in the Arabian toong, and out of measure satyricall, and bitter in his inuectiues. But to returne to our former purpose, these Tebessians haue alwaies rebelled against the king of Tunis, and haue slaine all the gouernours that he hath sent. Wherefore the king that now is, trauelling vpon a time towards Numidia, sent certaine ambassadours into the city, to know how the citizens stood affected towards him: vnto whom they (instead of God saue the King) made answere: God saue our Citie-walles. Wher eat the king waxing wroth, sacked the citie forthwith, beheaded and hanged diuers of the inhabitants, and made such hauock, that euer since it hath remained desolate.

This was done in the yeere of the Hegeira 915.3

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Of the towne called Vrbs.

B Y the name of this towne it sufficiently appeareth that the Romans were the first founders thereof. Situate it is vpon the most beautifull plaine of al Africa, which by reason of the abundance of fountaines is so wel stored with corne, that from thence to Tunis (which standeth 19o. miles.northward of this place) and to other regions adjoyning, great plentie of corne is transported. In this towne are to bee seene sundrie- monuments of the Romans, as namely images of marble, and euerie where vpon the walles are sentences in Latin letters engrauen : the towne-walles are most artificially and sumptuously built. This towne the Gothes, being assisted by the Moores, surprised, when as it contained the chiefe treasure and wealth that the Romanes enioyed in all Africa. Afterward it remained for certaine yeeres desolate, being at length notwithstanding inhabited a new, yet so, that it deserueth rather the name of a village then of a towne. Not far from this towne runneth a certaine riuer, vpon the which are diuers water-milles; and this riuer taketh his beginning from a little hill but halfe a mile distant
from the towne. All the inhabitants are either weauers or husbandmen, and are continually molested by the king of Tunis. Howbeit if the fertilitie of the soyle, the pleasantness of the place, and the holesome disposition of the aire, were as well knowne to the king, as they are to my selfe, I thinke verily that he would leaue Tunis, and goe and dwell in this region. The Arabians are well acquainted with the place, for from hence they yeerely transport great store of corne vnto their deserts.24

Of the towne of Beggia.

This towne built by the Romans vpon a mountaine almost twentye miles distant from the Mediterran sea, and about eightie miles westward of Tunis, standeth 712

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right in the way from Tunis to Constantina. But because the name of this towne is no Arabian name, it seemeth, that the first name hath been oftentimes corrupted and changed. The ancient walles of this towne are as yet standing, and it is a most defensible place, and well furnishe|d with all kinde of necessaries. It is inhabited with great store of weauers and husbandmen, and the fields thereof are so large and fruitfull for all kindes of graine, that the people of the same region could not sufficiently manure them, vnslesse they were assisted by certaine bordering Arabians: and yet a great part of their fields lieth un|tilled : howbeit they send continually great store of corne vnto Tunis. The king of Tunis surchargeth them with continuall and greeuous exactions, which is the cause why their estate so mightily decaith.25

Of the towne called Hain Sammit.

This towne was in my time founded by the king of Tunis, being distant almost thirtie miles from Beggia. It was built (they say) of purpose, that none of the fields thereabout might lie vntilled. But it hath since beene destroyed by the Arabians, at the commandement of the king of Tunis: and now there remaineth a tower and certaine other buildings onely, whereof some haue roofes vpon them and others none.26

Of the towne of Casba.

This towne built by the Romans vpon a large plaine of twelve miles compasse, is fower and twentye miles distant from Tunis. The towne|wall remaineth strong as yet; but the towne it selfe is destroyed by the Arabians, and the fields lie vntilled, and all by the negligence of the king of Tunis, and of the inhabitants of the same region.2

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The fish called Giarrafa or Laccia.

Of the castle of Choros.

This castle founded not many yeeres past by the
Africans upon the river of Magrida, and being about ten miles distant from Tunis, is enuironed with most fruitful fields. Neere vnto this towne growth a certaine wood greatly abounding with olives. At length it was destroied by certaine Arabians called Beni Heli, which make perpetuall warre against the king of Tunis, and liue onely vpon theft and robberie.28

Oj the town of Biserta.

The ancient town of Biserta otherwise called Bensart, founded by the Africans vpon the Mediterranean sea, thirtie flue miles from Tunis, is but of a small bignes, and is inhabited with most miserable people. Neere vnto this towne entreteth a certaine creeke or arme of the sea, which at the first being very narrow increaseth by little and little into a maruellous bredth. On either side thereof dwell great store of fishers and husbandmen: and westward of the said creeke lieth a most large and fruitful plaine called Mater, which is greuously molested by the king of Tunis, and by the Arabians. In this creeke are taken abundance of fishes: and after the moneth of October they catch a certairie fish called by the Africans Giarrafa, which I take to be the same that is at Rome called Laccia: for then by reason of the abundance of raine that falleth, the salt water of the baye becommeth somewhat fresh, wherewith those fishes (they say) are much delighted. Very deepe it is, and affoordeth good fishing till the end of May: but then the fishes begin to decrease, and to be much drier in taste then before, like vnto the fishes taken in the river of Fez.2

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Of the great citie of Carthage.

This famous and ancient citie was built at the first by a certaine people that came out of Syria. But others say that it was founded by a queene. The African chronicler Ibnu Rachich is of opinion, that it was built by a certaine people that came from Barca, being expelled thence by the king of Egypt: wherefore I cannot in this place affirme any certaintie as touching the founders thereof: for besides that the African historiographers disagree about this matter, there is none that hath left any writing thereof ancieneter then the decay of the Roman empire: when as all the Romans that were found in Africa were expelled by the Gothes. But afterward Tripolis of Barbaria and Capis being taken by the Mahumetans, the inhabitants of them both went vnto Carthage, whither the principall Romans and Gothes had retired themselues, who endeououred by all meanes to withstand the Mahumetans: and after many skirmishes the Romans fled to Bona, and the Gothes left Carthage for a pray vnto the Mahumetans; so that it remained desolate many yeeres after, till a certaine Mahumetan patriarche called Elmahdi brought in new colonies: howbeit he could scarce furnish the twentieth part with inhabitants. There are to be scene at this day certaine ruines of the citie-walles, till you come to a deepe and large cesterne. And there remaineth as yet also a certaine conduct which conuetheth water to the citie from a mountaine thirtie miles distant, being like vnto the conduct of the great palace at Rome. Neere vnto Carthage likewise are certaine great and ancient buildings, the description whereof is out of my remembrance.30 On the west and south part of this citie are
diuers gardens replenished with all kinde of fruities, which are carried from thence to Tunis in great abundance. The plaines adioining to this citie are exceeding fruitfull, though not very large: for vpon the ZZ

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* 1526.

The building of Cairaoan.

north part thereof lieth a mountaine, the sea, and the gulfe of Tunis31: on the east and south parts it ioyneth to the plaines of Bensart. But *now this citie is fallen into extreme decay & miserie: merchants shops there are not aboue twenty or five and twenty at the most: and all the houses of the towne being scarce flue hundred, are most base and beggerly. In my time here was a stately temple and a faire college also, but no students were therein.32 The townesmen, though very miserable, yet are they exceeding proud withall, and seeme to pretend a great shew of religion. And the greater part of them are either gardiners or husbandmen, and are greeuously oppressed with the kings daily exactions.

A description of the mightie citie of Tunis.

His citie is called by the Latines Tune.

turn, and by the Arabians Tunus, which name they thinke to be corrupt, because it signifieth nought in their language: but in olde time it. was - called Tarsis, after the name of a citie in Asia.33 At the first it was a small towne built by the Africans vpon a certaine lake, about twelue miles from the Mediterranean sea. And vpon the decay of Carthage Tunis began to increase both in buildings and inhabitants. For the inhabitants of Carthage were loth to remaine any longer in their owne towne, fearing least some armie would haue beene sent out of Europe: wherefore they repaired vnto Tunis, and greatly enlarged the buildings thereof. Afterward came thither one Hucba Vmen the fourth Mahumetan patriarke, who perswaded the citizens, that no armie or garrison ought to remaine in any sea-townes: wherefore he built another citie called Cairaoan, being distant from the Mediterran sea thirtie, and from Tunis almost an hundred miles: vnto

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which citie the armie marched from Tunis, and in the roome thereof other people were sent to inhabite.34 About an hundred and fiftie yeeres after, Cairaoan being sacked by the Arabians, the prince thereof was expelled, and became gouvernor of the kingdome of Bugia: howbeit he left certaine kinsmen of his at Tunis, who gounerned that citie. And ten yeeres after, Bugia was taken by Joseph the sonne of Tesfin,85 who seeing the humanitie of the foresaid prince, would not expel him out of his kingdome: but so long as it remained to the said prince and his posteritie, Joseph caused it to be free from all molestation. Afterward AbdulMumen king of Maroco hauing recouered Mahdia from the Christians, marched towards Tunis, and got possession thereof also.36 And so Tunis remained peaceably Tunis subiect vnto Abdulvnder the dominion of the kings of Maroco, so long as the Mumen and other kings of
kingdome was governed by the said Abdul, and his sonne Maroco. Ioseph, and
their successors Jacob and Mansor. But after the decease of Mansor, his sonne
Mahumet Ennasir made war against the king of Spaine, by whom being
vanquished, he fled to Maroco, and there within few yeeres ended his life. After
him succeeded his brother Ioseph, who was slaine by certaine soldiers of the king
of Telensin.37 And so vpon the death of Mahumet, and of his brother Ioseph, the
Arabians began to inhabite the territorie of Tunis, and to make often sieges and
assaults against the citie it selfe: whereupon the gouernour of Tunis aduertised
the king of Maroco, that vnlesse present aide were sent, he must be constrained to
yeeld Tunis vnto the Arabians. The king therefore sent a certaine valiant capitaine,
called Habduluahidi,38 and borne in Siuill a citie of *Granada, * Orser"ha s A
ndaluzia.
with a fleete of twentie sailes vnto Tunis, which he found halfe destroied by the
Arabians: but so great was his eloquence and wisdome, that he restored all things
to their former estate, and receiued the yeerely tribute. After JFabd uluahidi
succeeded his sonne Abu Zachheria,39 who
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in learning and dexteritie of wit, excelled his father. This Abu built a castle vpon a
certaine high place of the west part of Tunis, which he adorned with faire
buildings and with a most beautifull temple. Afterward taking his journey vnto
the kingdome of Tripolis, and returning home by the southerne regions, he
gathered tribute in all those places: so that after his decease he left great treasure
vnto his sonne. And after Abu succeeded his sonne, 40 who grew so insolent, that
he would riot be subiect to the king of Maroco, because he perceiued his
kingdome to decay: at the same time also had the Marin-familie gotten possession
of the kingdome of Fez, and so was the familie of Beni Zeyen possessed of the
kingdomes of Telensin and Granada. And so while all those regions were at
mutuall dissension, the dominions of Tunis began mightily to increase. Insomuch
that the king of Tunis marched vnto Telensin, and demanded tribute of the
inhabitants. Wherefore the king of Fez, who as then laid siege against Maroco,
craued by his ambassadours the king of Tunis his friendship, and with great giftes
obtained the same. Then the king of Tunis returning home conquerour from
Telensin, was receiued with great triumph, and was saluted king of all Africa,
because indeed there was no prince of Africa at the same time comparable vnlo
him. Wherefore he began to ordaine a roiall court, and to choose Secretaries,
counsellers, captains, and other officers appertaining to a king; after the very
same manner that was vsed in the court of Maroco. And from the time of this king
euen till our times, the kingdome of Tunis hath so prospered, that now it is
accounted the richest kingdom in all Africa. The said kings sonne raigning after
his fathers death, enlarged the suburbs of Tunis with most stately buildings.
Without the gate called Bed Suvaica41 he built a streete containing to the number
of three hundred families: and he built another
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streete at the gate called Bed el Manera consisting of more than a thousand families. In both of these streetes dwell great store of artificers, & in the street last mentioned all the Christians of Tunis, which are of the kings garde, haue their aboad. Likewise there is a third streete built at the gate next vnto the sea, called Beb el Bahar, and being but halfe a mile distant from the gulfe of Tunis. Hither doe the Genoueses, Venetians, and all other Christian merchants resort, and here they repose themselues out of the tumult and concourse of the Moores: and this street is of so great bignes, that it containeth three hundred families of Christians and Moores, but the houses are verie low, and of small receit. The families of the citie, together with them of the suburbs, amount almost to the number of ten thousand. This stately and populous citie hath a peculiar place assigned for each trade and occupation. Heere dwell great store of linnenweauers, and the linnen that they weaue is exceeding fine, & sold at a great price ouer al Afric a. The women A strange kind of spinof this towne vse a strange kinde of spinning: for standing ning. vpon an high place or on the vpper part of the house they let downe their spindles at a window, or through a hole of the plancher into a lower roume, so that the weight of the spindle makes the thread verie equall and euen. And here the linnen-drapers haue many shops, and are accounted the wealthiest citizens in all Tunis: here are also great store of grocers, apothecaries, taylors, and of all other trades and occupations: butchers here are verie many which sell mutton for the most part, especially in the spring, and in summer: also here are abundance of all kinde of artificers, euerie of which to describe would prooue tedious: the apparell of their merchants, priests, and doctors is verie decent. Vpon their heads they weare a Dulipan, which is couered with a great linnen-cloth: the courtiers likewise and the souldiers weare all of them

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Dulipans, but not couered with linnen. Rich men here are but few, by reason of the scarcitie of all kinde of graine: for a man cannot till a piece of ground, be it neuer so neere the citie, in regard of the manifold invasions of the Arabians. Corne is brought vnto them from other regions and cities, as namely from Vrbs, from Beggia, and from Bona. Some of the citizens of Tunis haue certaine fields in the suburbs walled round about, where they sowe some quantitie of barley and of other corne: howbeit the soyle is maruellous dry, and standeth in need of much watring: for which purpose euery man hath a pit, whereout with a certaine wheele turned about by a mule or a camel, and through certaine conueyances and passages made for the nonce, they water all the vpper part of their ground: now consider (I pray you) what great crop of corne can be reaped out of so little a field, walled round about and watred by such cunning and industrie. Bread they make verie excellent, albeit they leaue the bran still among the flower, & they bake their loaues in certaine mortars, such as the Egyptians vse to beat flaxe in. The merchants and most part of the citizens vse for food a kinde of homely pulse or pappe called by them Besis, being made of barley meale in forme of a dumpling, whereupon they powre oyle or the broth of Pome-citrons. And there is a certaine place in the citie where nothing but barley prepared in a readines to
make the said pulse, is to be sold. They vse also another kinde of foode almost as homely as the former: for seething a quantitie of meale thoroughly in water, and after braying it in another vessell with a pestill, they powre oyle or flesh-pottage thereunto, and so eat it: and this meate they call Bezin: but the richer sort feed themselves with more daintie meats. All their milles (except such as stand upon a riuer not far from the citie) are turned about either by the strength of mules, or asses. In

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this citie they haue no fountaines, riuers, nor welles of fresh water: but they all vse raine-water taken out of cesterns, sauing that there is a fountaine in the suburbs, from whence certaine porters bring salt water into the citie to sell, which they thinke to be more holesome and fit for drinke then raine-water. Other wels there are that affoorde most excellent water, which is reserued onely for the king & his courtiers. In this citie there is one most stately temple, furnished with sufficient number of priests, and with rich reuenues. Other temples there be also, but not endowed with so ample reuenues: here are collidges likewise and monasteries built after their maner, al of which are maintained vpon the common beneuolence of the citie. There are certaine people in this citie whom a man would take to be distraught, which goe bare-headed and bare-footed, carrying stones about with them, and these are reuerenced by the common people, for men of singular holines. Moreover on the behalfe of one of these mad fellowes, called Sidi el-Dahi; and for the residue of his fond societie, the king of Tunis built one of the foresaid monasteries, and endowed the same with most ample reuenues. All the houses of this citie are indifferently beautifull, being built of excellent stones, and adorned with much painting and caruing. They have verie artificall pargettions or plaister-works, which they beautifie with orient colours: for wood to carue vpon is verie scarce at Tunis. The floores of their chambers are paued with certaine shining and faire stones: and most of their houses are but of one storie high: and almost euerie house hath two gates or entrances; one towards the street, and another towards the kitchin and other back-roumes: between which gates they haue a faire court, where they may walke and conferre with their friends. The bathstoues here are far more commodious than those at Fez, though not so large and sumptuous. In the suburbs are

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many pleasant gardens which yeeld fruit, albeit not in great abundance, yet verie excellent: pome-citrons, roses, and other flowers here are great store, especially in that place which they call Bardo, where the king hath built a palace amidst those beautifull and sweete gardens. On all sides of the citie within fower or flue miles, there growe such plentie of olies, that the oyle thereof sufficeth not onely the citie, but-is carried also in great quantitie into Egypt. The wood of the oliue-trees which they cut downe they vse to burne and to make char-coales thereof: neither do I thinke any place to be more destitute of wood then this. Pouertie constraineth
some of their women to lead an unchast life: they are decently appareled, and going forth of the house, they wear veils or masks before their faces, like unto the women of Fez: for with one linnen-cloath they cover their foreheads, and joine thereto another which they call Setfari: but about their heads they lap such fardels of linen, as they seeme comparable to the heads of Giants. Most part of their substance and labour they bestow upon perfumes and other such vanities. They have here a compound called Lhasis, whereof whosoever eateth but one ounce falleth a laughing, disporting, and dallying, as if he were halfe drunken; and is by the said confection marvellously provoked unto lust.4

Of the king of Tunis his court, and of the rites and ceremonies used.

Soone as the king of Tunis hath by inheritance attained to his kingdom, all his nobles, doctors, priests, and judges, bind themselves by solemn oath unto him. Immediately after any kings death, his sonne and heir apparent succeedeth in the kingdom: then the chief officer of the court (called the Munafid, because he is the kings vice-roy or high deputie) presenteth himselfe forthwith unto the new king, and giueth vp an account of all things which he did while the old king liued: and then at the kings appointment euerie of the nobles receive offices from the Munafid according to their seuerall places of dignitie. Another principall officer there is, called the Mesuare, that is, the great commander and governour of the warlike forces: who hath authoritie to increase or diminish the number of soldiers, to give them their pay, to leuie armies, and to conduct the same whither he thinketh good. The third officer in dignitie is the Castellan, who with his soldiers taketh charge of the castle, and looketh to the sauegarde of the kings owne person: and he allotteth punishments vnto such prisoners as are brought into the said castle, as if he were the king himselfe. The fourth officer is the governor of the citie, whose dutie is to administer iustice in the common wealth, and to punish malefactors. The fift officer is the kings secretarie, who hath authoritie to write, and to giue answere in the kings name: he may open and read any letters whatsoever, except such as are sent vnto the Castellan and governour of the citie. The sixt is the kings chief chamberlaine, who is to furnish the walles with hangings, to appoint vnto every man his place, and by a messenger to assemble the kings counsellours, and this man hath great familiaritie with the king, and hath accesse to speak with him, as often as he pleaseth. The seventh in dignitie is the kings treasurer, who receiuethe all customs, tributes, and yeerly reuennes, and paieth them, with the kings consent, vnto the Munafid. The eight officer is he that receiuethe tribute for merchandize that are brought by land, who taketh custome also of forren merchants, which are constrained for the value of euery hundred duckats to pay two duckats and a halfe: this customer hath many spies and officers, who hauing intelligence of any merchants arriuall, they bring him forthwith before their master, in whose absence they keepe bim so long in their custodie, till their said master.
be present, and till the merchant hath deliuered all such custome as is due, and being bound with many othes, he is dismissed. The ninth officer receiueth tribute only of such wares as are brought by sea, and dwelleth in a house by the hauens side. The tenth is the steward of the kings houshold, who is to prouide bread, meate, and other necessarie victuals, and to apparell all the kings wiues, eunuches, and the Negro-slaves that attend vpon him. He also taketh charge of the kings sonnes and of their nurses, and allotteth busines vnto the Christian captuies. These are the chiefe officers vnder the king of Tunis: the residue (least I should seeme tedious to the reader) I haue of purpose omitted to intreate of. The king of Tunis hath fifteene hundred most choise soldiers, the greatest part of whom are Renegadoes or backsliders from the Christian faith: and these haue liberall pay allowed them. They haue a captaine ouer them also, who may increase or diminish their number as he pleaseth. Also there are an hundred and fiftie soldiers being Moores, who haue authoritie to remove the tents of the kings armie from place to place. There are likewise a certain number of crossebowes, which attend vpon the king whithersoever he rideth: but next of all to the kings person is his garde of Christians, which (as we signified before) dwell in the suburbs. Before the king marcheth a garde of footemen, being all of them Turkish archers, and gunners. Immedeately before the king goe his lackies or footemen. One there is that rideth on the one side of the king, carrying his partizan, another on the other side beareth his target, and the third comming behind him carrieth his crossebowe. Others there are also that attend vpon the king, whom (for breuitie s sake) we omit here to speak of These are the principall rites and ceremonies of the ancient kings of Tunis, being much different from them which are vsed by the king that now is, I could here make a large discourse of the kings' vices that now raigneth (at whose hands I confesse my selfe to haue receiued great benefits) but that is not my purpose at this present: this one thing I can affirme, that he is maruellous cunning to procure money out of his subiects purses. But he himselfe liueth sometimes in his palace, and sometimes in gardens, in the companie of his concubines, musicians, stage-plaiers, and such like. When he calleth for any musician, he is brought in blindfold or hoodwinked in manner of a hawke. The golden coine47 of Tunis containeth fower and twenty charats apeece, that is to say, a duckat and one third part of the coine of Europe: there is a kind of siluer-money coined also, being fower square in forme, which waieth sixe charats apeece: and thirtie or two and thirtie of these peeces are equall in value to one peece of their gold coine, and they are called Nasari: the Italians call the goldcoine of Tunis Doble.48 And thus much concerning the Doble. king of Tunis, and the customes of his court. Of the towne of Neapolis. T His ancient towne built by the Romans vpon the
Mediterranean sea almost twelve miles eastward of Tunis is inhabited by certaine Moors called Nabell. It was in times past very populous, but now there dwell but a few peasants therein, which exercise themselves only about sowing and reaping of flaxe.

Of the town of Cammar.
T His towne is very ancient also and neere vnto Carthage, standing eight miles northward of Tunis. The inhabitants being many in number are all of them gardeners, and use to bring their herbs and fruits to Tunis to be solde. Here also growe great store of sugar-canes, Sugar-Canes. which are brought likewise vnto Tunis: but because they

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haue not the arte of getting out the sugar, they use onely after meales to sucke the sweete Juice out of the said canes.

Of the town of Marsa.
T His ancient towne standing vpon the Mediterranean sea neere the same place where the hauen of Carthage was of olde, remained certaine yeeres desolate, but now it is inhabited by certaine fishers and husbandmen: and here they use to white linnen-cloth. Not far from hence are certaine castles and palaces, where the king of Tunis ordinarily remaineth in summer-time.

Of the town of Ariana.
M Oreouer this ancient towne was built by the Goths almost eight miles northward of Tunis. It is enuironed with most pleasant and fruitfull gardens, and it hath a strong wall, and containeth many husbandmen. Certaine other little townes there are not far distant from Carthage, some inhabited, and the residue desolate, the names whereof I haue quite forgotten.

Of the towne of Hammamet.
TThis towne built by the Mahumetans of late yeeres, and enuironed with a wall of great strength, is distant from Tunis almost fiftie miles. The inhabitants are miserable people, and oppressed with continuall exactions, being the greatest part of them either fishers or colliers.

Of the town of Susa.
T His exceeding great and ancient towne was built by the Romans vpon the Mediterranean sea, being distant from Tunis about an hundred miles. The plaines adioyning abound with olives and figs: their fieldes are most fruitfull for barlie, if they could be tilled, but the Arabians often incursions are the cause why they lie waste. The inhabitants being most liberall and courteous people, and great friends unto strangers, make voyages most of them vnto the easterne regions and vnto

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Turkie; and some also frequent the next townes of Sicilia and Italie. The residue
of the inhabitants are either weauers, or graziers of cattell, or such as turne
wooden vessels, wherewith they furnish the whole kingdome of Tunis. When the
Mahumetans first woon that prouince, this towne was the seate of the vice-roy,
whose palace is as yet remaining. A most stately towne it is, enuironed with
strong walles, and situate vpon a most beautifull plaine. It was in times past well
stored with inhabitants, and with faire buildings whereof some, together with a
goodly temple, are as yet extant. But now it containeth very few people, and but
flue shops in all, by reason of the kings continuall exactions. I my selfe was
constrained to stay in this towne for fower daies, in regarde of the danger of the
time.55

Of the towne of Monaster.
The ancient towne of Monaster built by the Romans
vpon the Mediterran sea, and distant almost twelue miles from Susa, is enuironed
with most impregnable and stately walles, and containeth very faire buildings: but
the inhabitants are most miserable and beggerly people, and weare shooes made
of sea-rushes: most of them are either weauers or fishers: their fare is barlie
bread, and a kinde

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Of the towne of Tobulba.
This towne built also by the Romaines vpon the
Mediterran sea, standeth about twelue miles eastward of Monaster. For certaine
yeeres it was very populous, and greatly abounded with olives: but afterwarde it
was so wasted by the Arabians, that now there are but few houses remaining,
which are inhabited by certaine religious men: these religious men maintaine a
faire hospitall for strangers travailing that way, where they courteously entertaine
euen the Arabians themselues.57

Of the towne of El Mahdia, otherwise called Africa.
E L Mahdia founded in our time58 by Mahdi the first
patriarke of Cairaoan vpon the Mediterran sea, and fortified with strong wals,
towers, and gates, hath a most noble hauen belonging thereto. Mahdi when hee
first entred into this region, fained himselfe in an vnknowne habite to be
descended of the linage of Mahumet, whereby growing into great fauour of the
people, he was by their assistance made prince of Cairaoan, and was called El
Mahdi Califa: afterward travelling fortie daies journee westwarde into Numidia to
receiue tribute due vnto him, he was taken by the prince of Segelmesse,59 and put
in prison, howbeit the said prince of Segelmese being presently mooved with
compassion toward him, restored him to his former libertie, and was for his good
will not long after slaine by him: Afterwarde tyrannizing ouer the people, and
percutuing some to conspire against him, he erected
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this towne of Mahdia, to the end he might there finde safe refuge when neede
required. At length one Beiezid a Mahumetan prelate (whom they called the
cauallier or knight of the asse, bicause that riding continually vpon an asse he
conduted an armie of fortie thousand men) came vnto Caireaoan: but fahdi fledde
vnto his new towne, where with thirtie saile of ships sent him by a Mahumetan
prince of Cordoua, he so valiantly encountered the enimie, that Beiezid and his
sonne were both slaine in that battaile: afterward returning to Caireoan, he grew in
league and amitie with the citizens, and so the gouernment remained vnto his
posteritie for many yeeres. But an hundred and thirtie yeeres past this *towne was
taken by the Christians, * El Malhldia. and was afterwards recouered by a certaine
Mahumetan patriarke of Maroco called A bdel JILumen,61 but nowe it is subject
vnto the king of Tunis, by whom it is continually oppressed with most grieuous
exactions. The inhabitants exercise traffike with forraine nations : and they are at
so great dissention with the Arabians, that they are scarce permitted to till their
grounds. Not many yeeres ago Pedro de Nauarra assailing this towne onely with
nine Thips, was defeated of his purpose, and constrained to returne w ith great
losse of his men. This hapned in the yeere of our Lord 1519.62
Of the towne of Asfachus.
T His towne was built by the Africans vpon the
Mediterran sea, at such time as they waged warre against the Romaines. It is
compassed with most high and strong wals, and was in times past very populous,
but now it containeth but three or fower hundreth families at the most, and but a
fewe shops. Oppressed it is both by the Arabians, and by the king of Tunis. All
the inhabitants are either weauers, marriners, or fishermen. They take great store
of fishes called by them Spares, 3A
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which worde signifieth nought in the Arabian and Barbarian, much less in the
Latine toong. This people hue also vpon barly bread and Bezin : their apparell is
base, and some of them traffike in Egypt and Turkie.63
Of the great citie of Caireoan.
T HE famous citie of Caireoan otherwise called Caroen,64
was founded by Hucba, who was sent generall of an armie out of the Arabia
deserta, by Hutmen the thirde Mahumetan Califa. From the Mediterran sea this
citie is distant sixe and thirtie, and from Tunis almost an hundred miles; neither
was it built (they say) for any other purpose, but onely that the Arabian armie
might securely rest therein with all such spoiles as they woone from the
Barbarians, and the Numidians. He enuironed it with most impregnable walles,
and built therein a sumptuous temple, supported with stately pillers. The saide
Hucba after the death of Hutmen was ordained prince of Muchauia, and gouverned
the same till the time of Qualid Califa the sonne of Habdul Malic,65 who as then
raigned in Damasco: this Qualid sent a certaine captaine called Muse the sonne of
Nosair, with an huge armie vnto Cairaoan: who hauing stalled a fewe daies with his armie not farre from Cairaoan, marched westward, sacking and spoiling townes and cities, till he came to the Ocean sea shore, and then he returned towards Cairaoan againe. From whence he sent as his deputie a certaine capitaine into Mauritiania, who there also conquered many regions and cities. Insomuch that Muse being mooued with a iealous emulation, commanded him to staile till himselfe came. His said Deputie therefore called Tarich encamped himselfe not far from Andaluzia, whither Muse within 4 months came vnto him with an huge armie. From whence both of them with their armies crossing the seas, arriued in Granada, and so marched by lande against the Goths.

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Against whom Theodoricus the king of Goths opposing himselfe in battaile, was miserablie vanquished. Then the foresaide two captaines with all good successe proceeded euen to Castilia, and sacked the citie of Toledo, where amongst much other treasure, they founde many reliques of the saints, and the very same table whereat Christ sate with his blessed Apostles, which being couered with pure gold and adorned with great store of precious stones, was esteemed to be woorth halfe a million of ducates, and this table Muse carrying with him as if it had bee all the treasure in Spaine, returned with his armie ouer the sea, and bent his course towarde Cairaoan. And being in the meane space sent for by the letters of Qualid Califa, he sailed into Egypt: but arriuing at Alexandria, it was tolde him by one Hescian, brother vnto the saide Califa, that the Califa his brother w as fallen into a most dangerous disease: wherefore he wished him not to goe presently unto Damasco, for feare least if the Califa died in the meane season, those rich and sumptuous spoiles should be wasted and dispersed to no ende. But Muse little regarding this counsell, proceeded on to Damasco, and presented all his spoiles to the Califa, who within flue daies after deceased. After whom his brother succeeding Califa, depretied Muse of his dignitie, and substituted one Lezul into his roome, whose sonne, brother, and nephewes succeeding, governed the citie of Cairaoan,7 till such time as the familie of Qualid was depretied of that dignitie, and one Elagleb was appointed lieutenant, who governed not the towne as a Califa: from that time the Mahumetan Califas leauing Damasco, remooued vnto Bagadad, as we find recorded in a certaine Chronicle.68 After the decease of Elagleb, succeeded his sonne, and the governement remained vnto his posterie for an hundred threescore and ten yeeres, till such time as they were depretied thereof by one M41ahdi Califa.69 But at the same time when Elagleb was 3A2 731

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gouernour, the citie of Cairaoan was so increased both with inhabitants, and buildings, that a towne called Recheda was built next vnto it, where the prince and his nobles Tke isle of vsed to remaine.70 In his time also the Isle of Sicilie was Sicilie subdued
by thegouern-woone: for Elagleb sent thither a certaine captaine called ourof Cairoan. Halcama, who built vpon the said Island a towne instead
of a forte, calling it according to his owne name Halcama, which name is vsed by
the Sicilians euen till this present.71 Afterward this new towne was beseiged by
certaine people that came to aide the Sicilians. Whereupon one Ased was sent
with an armie, & so the Moores forces being augmented they conquered the
residue of Sicilia, by which means the dominions of Cairoan began
woonderfully to increase.
The citie of Cairoan standeth vpon a sandie and desert plaine, which beareth no
trees, nor yet any corne at all.
Corne is brought thither from Susa, from Monaster, and from Mahdia, all which
townes are within the space of forty miles. About twelue miles from Cairoan
standeth a certaine mountaine called Gueslet, where some of the Romaines
buildings are as yet extant: this mountaine aboundeth with springs of water and
carobs, which springs run downe to Cairoan, where otherwise they shoulde haue
no water but such as is kept in cesternes.72 Without the walls of this citie raine
water is to be found in certaine cesternes onely till the beginning of June. In
sommer time the Arabians vse to resort vnto the plaines adioining vpon this
towne, who bring great dearth of corne and water, but exceeding plentie of dates
and flesh with them, and that out of Numidia, which region is almost an hundred
threescore and ten miles distant. In this citie for certaine yeeres the studie of the
Mahumetan lawe mightily flourished, so that heere were the most famous lawyers
in all Africa.
It was at length destroied, and replanted againe with newe inhabitants, but it
coulde neuer attaine vnto the former estate. At this present it is inhabited by none but
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leather-dressers, who sende their leather vnto the cities of Numidia, and exchange
it also for cloth of Europe. Howbeit they are so continually oppresse d by the king
of Tunis, that now they are brought vnto extreme miserie.73
Of the citie of Capes.
T His ancient citie built by the Romaines vpon the
Mediterran sea, was fortified with most high and stately walles, and with a strong
castle.74 lust by it runneth a certaine ruer of hot and salt water.5 It hath
continually been so molested by the Arabians, that the inhabitants abandoning
their citie, resorted vnto certaine plaines replenished with great abundance of
dates, which by a certaine arte are preserued all the yeere long. Heere is also
digged out of the grounde a kinde of fruite about the bignes of a beane, and in
taste resembling an almond. This fruite being ordinarie ouer all the kingdome of
Tunis, is called by the Arabians Habhaziz.76 The inhabitants The fruit called
Htabof the foresaide plaine are blacke people, being all of them haziz. either
fishers, or husbandmen.
Of the towne called El Hamma.
T His most ancient townes founded also by the
Romans, and being distant from Capes almost fifteen miles, is enuironed with most stately and strong walles: and upon certaine marble stones therein are engrauen divers monuments of antiquitie. The streets and buildings of this towne are very base, and the inhabitants miserable, and addicted to robberie. Their fields are barren and unprofitable, and will bring forth but certaine vnauorie dates. A mile and a halfe to the south of this towne beginneth a certaine river of hot water to spring, which being brought thorough the midst of the citie by certaine chanelles is so deepe, that it will reach vp to a mans nauell: howbeit by reason of the extreme heat
A river of hot water.

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The lake of lepers.

of the water, there are but few that will enter thereinto. And yet the inhabitants use it for drinke, having set it a cooling almost an whole day. At length this river not far from the towne maketh a certaine lake, which is called the lake of leapers: for it is of woonderfull force to heale the disease of leprosie, and to cure leprous sores: wherefore neere vnto it are divers cottages of lepers, some of whom are restored to their health. The saide water tasteth in a manner like brimstone, so that it will nothing at all quench a mans thirst, whereof I my selfe haue had often triall.

Of the castle of Machres.

The castle of Machres was built by the Africans in my time vpon the entrance of the gulf of Capes, to defend the same region from the invasion of the enemie. It is almost five hundred miles distant from the isle of Gerbi. All the inhabitants are either weauers, shipwrights, or fishermen, and haue traffike & recourse ouer all the foresaid isle. They haue al the same language that the people of the isle of Gerbi use: but because they want grounds and possessions, al of them, saue the weauers, liue only vpon theft & robbery.

Of the isle of Gerbi or Zerbi, where John Leo the Author of this Historie was taken by Italian pirates, and carried thence to Rome.

His isle being neere vnto the firme land of Africa, and consisting of a plaine and sandie ground, aboundeth exceedingly with dates, vines, olives, and other fruits, and containeth about eighteen miles in compass. It hath also certaine farmes and granges, which are so farre distant asunder, that you shall scarce finde two or three in one village. Their ground is drie and barren, which though it be neuer so well tilled, will yeeld but a little barlie. And here come and flesh is alwaies at an exceeding rate. At the sea shore standeth a strong castle, wherein the gouernour of the whole Island and his retinue haue their abode. Not farre from hence there is a certaine village, where the Christian, Mauritanian, and Turkish merchants haue their place of residence; in which place there is a great market or faire weekly kept, whither all the merchants of the Island and many Arabians from the maine land with great store
of cattle and wooll doe resort. The inhabitants of the Isle bring cloth thither to sell, which they themselves make, and this cloth together with great store of raisins they usually transport unto Tunis, and Alexandria to be sold. Scarce fifty yeeres sithence this Isle was inuaded and conquered by Christians: but it was immediately recovered by the king of Tunis." And presently after (new colonies being here planted) the foresaid castle was reedified: which the kings of Tunis afterwarde enioied. But after the death of king Hutmen the Islanders returned to their former libertie, and presently broke the bridge from the Island to the maine lande, fearing least they should be inuaded by some land-armie. Not long after the said Islanders slaying the king of Tunis his gouernours of the Isle, haue themselues continued gouernours thereof till this present. Out of this Island is gathered the summe of fowerscore thousand Dobles (everie Doble containing an Italian ducate, and one third part) for yeerly tribute, by reason of the great concourse and resort of the merchants of Alexandria, Turkie, and Tunis. But now because they are at continuall dissension and contouroersie, their estate is much impaire. In my time Don Ferdinando king of Spaine, sent a great armada against this Island, vnder the conduct of the duke of Alua, who not knowing the nature of the same, commanded his soldiers to land a good distance from thence: but the Moores so valiantly defended The armie of don Ferdinando defeated.

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their Island, that the Spaniards were constrained to give backe: and so much the greater was their distresse, in that they could not finde water sufficient to quench their extreme thirst. Moreover at the Spaniards arrivall it was a full tide, but when they would haue returned on bourd, it was so great an ebbe, that their ships were constrained to put to sea, least they shoulde haue beene cast vpon the sholdes. The shore was drie for almost fower miles togethier, so that the Spanish soldiers were put vnto great toile, before they coulde come to the waters side. And the Moores pursued them so eagerly, that they slew and took prisoners the greatest part of them, and the residue escaped by shipping into Sicilia. Afterwarde the Gerbi made Emperour Clarles the fift sent a mightie fleete thither tributarie vnto Charles thefift vnder the conduct of a Rhodian knight of the order of by meanes of a knight of the Saint John de Messina, who so discreetly behaued himselfe Rhodes. in that action, that the Moores compounded to pay flue thousand Dobles for yeerly tribute, vpon condition of the Emperours league and goodwill, which yeerely tribute is payde vntil this present.2 Of the towne of Zoara. T This towne built by the Africans vpon the Mediterran sea, standeth eastward from the Isle of Gerbi almost fiftie miles. The towne wall is weak and the inhabitants are poore people, being occupied about nothing but making of lime and plastring, which they sell
in the kingdome of Tripoli. Their fields are most barren: and the inhabitants haue continually beene molested by the invasions of the Christians, especially since the time that they woon Tripolis.83

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Of the towne of Lepide.
The ancient towne founded by the Romans, and enuironed with most high and strong walles, hath twise beene sacked by the Mahumetans, and of the stones and ruines thereof was Tripolis afterward built.84

Of the olde citie of Tripolis.
Old Tripolis built also by the Romans, was after woon by the Goths, and lastly by the Mahumetans, in the time of Califa Homar the second. Which Mahumetans hauing besieged the gouvernour of Tripoli six moneths together, compelled him at length to flee vnto Carthage. The citizens were partly slaine, and partly carried captiue into Egypt and Arabia, as the most famous African Historiographer Ibnu Rachith reporteth.85

Of the new citie of Tripolis in Barbarie.
After the destruction of old Tripolis,86 there was built another city of that name: which city being enuironed with most high and beautifull wals, but not verie strong, is situate vpon a sandie plaine, which yeeldeth great Plentie of store of dates. The houses of this date. citie are most stately in respect of the houses of Tunis : and heere also euerie trade and occupation hath a seuerall place. Weauers here are many. They haue no wels nor fountaines; but all their water is taken out of cesterns. Come in this citie is at an exceeding rate ; for all the fields of Tripoli are as sandie and barren as the fields of Numidia. The reason whereof is, for that the principall and fattest grounds of this region are ouerflowed with the sea. The inhabitants of this region affirme, that the greatest part of their fields northward are swallowed vp by

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the Mediterran sea, the like whereof is to be scene in the territories of Monaster, Mahdia, Asfacos, Capes, the Isle of Gerbi, and other places more eastward, where the sea for the space of a mile is so shallow, that it will scarce reach vnto a mans nauell. Yea, some are of opinion, that the citie of Tripolis it selfe was situate in times past more to the north, but by reason of the continuall inundations of the sea, it was built and remooved little and little southward; for prooфе whereof there stand as yet ruines of houses drowned in certaine places of the sea.87 In this citie were many faire temples and colledges built, and an hospitall also for the maintenance of their owne poore people, and for the entertainment of strangers. Their fare is verie base and homely, beeing onely the forenamed Besis made of barley meale: for that region affoordeth so small quantitie euen of barley, that he is accounted a wealthie man that hath a bushell or two of corne in store. The citizens are most of them merchants; for Tripolis standeth neere vnto Numidia and
Tunis, neither is there any citie or towne of account between it and Alexandria: neither is it far distant from the Isles of Sicilia and Malta: and unto the port of Tripolis Venetian ships yeerly resort, and bring thither great store of merchandize. This citie hath alwaies been subject unto the king of Tunis: but when Abulhasen the king of Fez besieged Tunis, the king of Tunis was constrained with his Arabians to flee into the deserts. Howbeit when A bulhasen was conquered, the king of Tunis returned to his kingdome: but his subiects began to oppose themselues against him: and so that common-wealth was afterward greviously turmoyled with ciuill dissensions and warres. Whereof the king of Fez hauing intelligence, marched the fifth yeere of the said cuill warre with an armie against the citie of Tunis, and hauing vanquished the king thereof, and constrained him to flee vnto Constantina, he so straitly besieged him, that

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the citizens of Constantina seeing themselues not able to withstand the king of Fez, opened their citie gates to him and to all his armie. Whereupon the king of Tunis was carried captiue vnto Fez, and was afterward kept a while prisoner in the castle of Septa." In the meane season Tripolis was by a Genouese fleete of twentie sailes surprised Tripolis taken by afeete 01 and sacked, and the inhabitants carried away captiue. Genowaies. Whereof the king of Fez beeing aduertised, gaue the Genoueses fiftie thousand ducates vpon condition that he might enjoy the towne in peace. But the Genoueses hauing surrendred the towne, perceiued after their departure, that most of their ducates were counterfeit.89 Afterward the king of Tunis being restored vnto his former liberty by Abuselim king of Fez, returned home vnto his kingdome, and so the government thereof remained vnto him and his posteritie, till A bubar the sonne of Hutmen togither with his yoong sonne was slaine in the castle of Tripolis by a nephew of his, who afterward usurped the kingdome: but he was slaine in a battell which he fought against Ifabdul Mumen, who presently thereupon became Lord of Tripolis. After him succeeded his sonne Zacharias, who within a few moneths dyed of the pestilence. After Zacharias, Mucamen the sonne of Hesen and cosin to Zacharias was chosen king; who beginning to tyrannize ouer the citizens was by them expelled out of his kingdome: and afterward a certaine citizen was advanced vnto the royall throne, who gouerned verie modestly. But the king which was before expelled sent an armie of souldiers against Tripolis, who loosing the field, were all of them put to flight. Afterward the king that began to raigne so modestly, prooued a verie tyrant, and being murthered by his kinsman, the people made choice of a certaine nobleman, leading as then an Hermites life, and in a manner against his will appointed him their gouernour : and so the gouernment of the citie of Tripolis remained vnto him and his posteritie, till such

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time as king Ferdinando sent Don Pedro de Nauarra Tripolissur- against it: who on the sudden encountering this citie, .prized by Pedro
de Nauarra. carried away many captiues with him. The gouernour of Tripolis and his sonne in lawe were sent prisoners vnto Messina. Where, after certaine yeeeres imprisonment, they were restored by the Emperour Charles the fift vnto their former libertie, and returned vnto Tripolis, which towne was afterward destroyed by the Christians. The castle of Tripolis being environed with most strong walles, begin (as I vnderstand) to be replanted with new inhabitants. And thus much as concerning the cities of the kingdome of Tunis.90

Of the mountaines belonging to the state of Bugia.

The territorie of Bugia is full of ragged, high, and woodie mountaines: the inhabitants being a noble, rich, and liberall people, and possessing great store of goats, oxen, and horses, haue alwaies continued in libertie, since the time that Bugia was surprised by the Christians.

The people of these mountaines use to haue a blacke crosse vpon one of their cheekes, according to the ancient custome before mentioned. Their bread is made of barly, and they haue abundance of nuts and figs vpon those mountaines, especially which are neere vnto Zoaoa: in Iron-mines. some places of these mountaines are certaine mines of iron, whereof they make a kinde of coine of halfe a pound weight. They haue also another sort of siluer coine weighing fower grains a pecce: these mountaines yeeld abundance of wine and hempe; but their linnen-cloath that they weaue is exceeding course. And these mountaines of Bugia extende in length vpon the coast of the Mediterranean sea almost a hundred and fiftie, and in bredd th fortie miles: each mountaine containeth inhabitants of a diuers kinred and generation from others, whom because they Hue all after one manner, we will passe ouer in silence.91

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Of mount A uraz.

This exceeding high and populous mountaine is inhabited with most barbarous people, that are wholly addicted vnto robberie and spoil. From Bugia it is distant fowerscore, and from Constantina almost threescore miles. Also being separated from other mountaines it extendeth about threescore miles in length. Southward it bordereth vpon the Numidian deserts, and northward vpon the regions of Mesila, Stefe, Nicaus, and Constantina. From the very toppe of this mountaine issue diuers streames of water, which running downe into the next plaines, increase at length into a lake, the water whereof in sommer time is salt. The passage vnto this mountaine is very difficult, in regard of certain cruell Arabians.92

Of the mountaine of Constantina.

LI the north and west part of the territorie belonging Ato the citie of Constantina is full of high mountaines, which beginning at the borders of Bugia, extend themselves to the Mediterranean sea, euen as farre as Bona, that is to say, almost an hundred and thritie miles. Their fields vpon the plaines are replenished with olives, figges, and all other kindes of fruites, which are carried in great quantitie
unto the next townes and cities: all the inhabitants for ciuill demeanour excell the citizens of Bugia, and do exercise diuers manuariie arts, and weauue great store of linen cloth. They are at continuall dissention among themselves, by reason that their women will so often change husbands. They are exceeding rich, and free from all tribute: and yet dare they not till their plaines, both for feare of the Arabians, and also of the gouernours of the next cities. Euerie weeke vpon sundry daies heere is a market, greatly frequented with merchants of Constantina, & of other places: and whatsoeuer merchant hath no
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friend nor acquaint~ce dwelling vpon the mountaines, is in great hazard to be notablie cozened. Vpon these mountaines they haue nether judges, priests, nor yet any learned men : so that when any of the inhabitants would write a letter vnto his friend, he must trudge vp and downe sometime twelue, and sometime fiftene miles to seek a scribe. Footemen for the warres they haue almost fortie thousand, and about fower thousand horsemen. The inhabitants are men of such valour, that if they agreed among themselves, they woulde soone be able to conquer all Africa.93

Of the mountaines of Bona.

T H e citie of Bona hath on the north part the Mediterran sea, on the south and west parts certaine mountaines adijoining almost vnto the mountaines of Constantina, and on the east side it hath most fruitfull fieldes and large plaines, whereupon in times past were diuers townes and castles, built by the Romains: the ruins whereof are now onely remaining, and the names quite forgotten. All these regions by reason of the Arabians crueltie are so desolate, that they are inhabited in but very fewe places ; and there they are constrained to keepe out the Arabians by force of armes. The mountaines of Bona extend in length from east to west almost forescore miles, and in bredth about thirtie miles. Heere are great store of fountaines, from whence certaine riuers issue, running through the plaines into the Mediterran-sea.

Of the mountaines standing neere vnto Tunis.

T H e citie of Tunis standing vpon a plaine hath no mountaines nigh vnto it, but onely on the west side towards the Mediterran sea, where it hath a mountaine like vnto that which enuironeth Carthage. Neere vnto Tunis standeth another high and colde mountaine called Zagoan: inhabitants heere are none at all but a
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fewe that tende the Bee-hiues, and gather some quantitie of barly. Vpon the toppe of this mountaine the Romaines built certaine forts, the ruins whereof are yet to be scene, hauing epitaphes engrauen vpon them in Latine letters. From this mountaine vnto Carthage, water is conueighed by certaine passages vnder the ground.94

Of the mountaines of Beni Tefren and Nufusa.
These high and cold mountaines are distant from the desert, from Gerbi, and from Asfacus almost thirty miles, and yeelde very small store of barley. The inhabitants being valiant, and renouncing the law of Mahumet, do follow the doctrine of the patriarche of Cairaoan in most points, neither is there any other nation among the Arabians that observe the same doctrine. In Tunis and other cities these people earne their living by most base occupations, neither dare they openly profess their religion.

Of mount Garian.

This high and cold mountaine containing in length forty & in breadth fifteen miles, and being separated from other mountaines by a sandie desert, is distant from Tripolis almost fifty miles. It yeeldeth great plentie of barley and of dates, which vnlesse they be spent while they are new, will soon prooue rotten. Heere are likewise abundance of olives: Wherefore from this mountaine unto Alexandria and other cities there is much oile conueighed. There is not better saffron to Mostexcellent saqfronl. be found in any part of the world besides, which in regard of the goodnesse is solde very deere. For yeerely tribute there is gathered out of this mountaine threescore thousand ducates, and as much saffron as fifteene mules can carrie. They are continually oppressed with the exactions of the Arabians, and of the king of Tunis. They haue certaine base villages vpon this mountaine.

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Of mount Beni Guarid.

This mountaine being almost an hundred miles distant from Tripolis, is inhabited with most valiant & stout people, which liue at their owne libertie, and are at continual war with the people of the next mountaines, & of the Numidian desert.

Of the castle called Casr Acmed.

This castle builte vpon he Mediterran sea by a captaine which came with an armie into Africa, standeth not farre from Tripolis, and was at the last laide waste by the Arabians.

Of the castle of Subeica.

The castle of Subeica erected about the same time when the Mahumetans came into Africa, was in times past wel furnished with inhabitants, being afterward destroyed by the Arabians, and nowe it harboreth a fewe fishers onely.

Of the castle called Casr Hessin.

This castle was founded by the Mahumetans vpon Tthe Mediterran sea, and was afterward destroyed by the Arabians.

Here endeth the fifth booke.

NOTES TO BOOK V.

(i) Bujaia, Bejaia, the modern Bugia, or Bougie, an ancient kingdom now part of Algeria. Its history is identical with that of the city of same name, which was for
so long its capital and a seat of the Arabic learning. One of the most beautifully situated spots in the world, it seems to have been occupied at a very early date. The Carthaginians had an emporium here, and a colony was established in this place by Augustus, under the name of Sald2e, or, according to an inscription, Colonia Julia Augusta Saldantum. For a time it was part of the suffragan kingdom of Juba I I, and until ruined by the Arab invasion must have been an important centre. In A.D. 484 Paschasin, its bishop, took part in the Council of Carthage convoked by Hunerik. Even after the Vandals captured it, Guraia (mountain), as they re-named it (and the name is still retained for a hill in the vicinity), remained their capital until the taking of Carthage. En-Naser (A.H. 460, A.D. 1067-i068), called it (according to Ibn Khaldoun) after himself, En-Naceria, after he made it his capital, though all the world spoke of it as "Bedjaia, the name of a tribe". His son, El-Mansur, by the help of 1,100 artizans sent here by the Pope, with whom he was on excellent terms, still further beautified "the mountain" city. Under the Almohades, Beni-Hafs, Beni-Merini, BeniZeiyan, and again under the Beni-Hafs (who held it until 5th January 1510, when Pedro Navarro captured it), Bougie enjoyed a chequered prosperity. After the repulse of Charles V at Algiers (1545), the Algerines, under Saleh Reis, so far took courage as to compel the Spaniards to surrender (1555). After this Bougie continued in their hands, gradually decaying, until on the 29th Sept. 1833, it was easily occupied by the French. The King of Tunis who recovered Bougie from the Beni-Zeiyan of Tlemesen was Abu Fares (p. 691), who died A.H. 837 (A.D. 1414). The division of his empire among three sons is mentioned by Marmol, copying Leo. These sons were Abu Abd Allah Abd el-Aziz (" Habdulhaziz")-who, according to El-Kairouini (Hist. de PAfrique, trans. Pellissier et R-musat, p. 260), succeeded him in the government of Tunis, no mention being made of the civil wars-Othman (" Hutmen"), and Omar (" Hammare"), who was captured in Sphax (" Asfacos"). It was not Othman, but Abd erRahman, a descendant of that Prince, who had to surrender to Pedro Navarro in 1510, though in reality his nephew, Abd Allah, had who 3B

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been dethroned by his uncle, was the legitimate sovereign.-Pellissier, "Memoires historiques et g-o graphiques sur l'Alg drie" (Exfi1.scientifique de ?Alglrie, t. vi, pp. 14, 22, 84) ; Lapene, ingt-six mois a Bougie, ou Collection de MVJdoires sur sa Conqugte, etc., pp. 4-7; Feraud, "Histoire de Bougie", Rec. de Not. et Mdm. Soc. Arch. Constantine, 1869, pp. 85-4o8, etc. ; Letter of Ferdinand the Catholic to Count Don Pedro Navarro, Captain-General in Africa, De la Primaudace, Hist. de Poccupation Espagnole en Afrique (1506-1574), P. 14.

(2) This was probably the fort erected by En-Naser and destroyed by the Spaniards. Its former name was Borj el-Ahmar-" the red fort". At a later date it was re-erected and called Borj bu-laila, that is, the fort erected in a single night. The ground in the vicinity is covered with stones and earth of a brownish-red colour, testifying to the origin of its primitive name. In the Azuagues, whom Marmol speaks of as the Berbers in the vicinity of Bougie, Feraud recognises the Bene-Azak (Iazaguen), Revue Africaine, t. ii, 458, t. iii, 45, 296.
For "plaster work", mosaics (musaiche) is the proper rendering. "Stufe", stove rooms (baths), is omitted in the translation.

(3) The date of Pedro Navarro capturing Bougie is given by Leo as A.H. 917, and Marmol affirms that the town was thirty-five years "in the power of the Kings of Castile". In reality, both dates are wrong, for the Spaniards, as we have seen, took Bougie in 1510, and lost it in 1555.

(4) Jejel, Jijelly, built on the site of the Roman Colonia Igilgilis.
(5) M'sila, the Messeelah of Shaw, on the southern skirts of ElHuthna. It is the ElMesila of Abu-l-feda, who says that it was "a modern town built by the Fatimites of Egypt". El-Azzi asserts that its founder was KAim-Billa, the Fatemite (A.H. 315), who called it ElMohammadiyya. According to him it was a "superb city", plentifully supplied with water. Hence its name, M'sila, which means "watered by a stream". El-Bekri is equally lavish in his praise of M'sila, and speaks of the beauty of the peach, apricot, and other fruit-tree gardens around it. Though the climate was too cold for dates, cotton was grown. Ibn Haukel gives Wad Seker as the name of the river by which it stands, and also notes cotton, wheat and barley among its crops, adding that horses, cattle, and sheep were very plentiful on the mountain pastures. The Algerines kept a small garrison here.

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(6) Setif, the Setifis Colonia of the Romans, and the capital of Mauritania Setifensis. Recently disinterred inscriptions show that it was also called Augusta Martialis, and Colonia Nerviana. It was the seat of a bishop. Though frequently plundered by the Vandals and Arabs, and in 49 almost ruined by an earthquake, of which St. Augustine takes notice, El-Bekri described the city of his day as well populated and flourishing. The present town, which lies 3,573 feet above sea level, is entirely modern.

(7) Nekaus, Nigaoqs, Mgaous, Nic-kowse of Shaw, "Ben-cowse as the Turks call it, where there is a garrison of one Suffrah [a company of about twenty], a mud-walled rampart, and three pieces of cannon". Their patron saint was, and is, Sidi Laffan, in that day so popular that out of the revenues of his sanctuary two hundred Talibs were supported. The rivulet (Wad Barika) which runs past is so impregnated with nitrous particles from the soil, as to be unfit for domestic purposes. A rival to the Rusgunia (p. 698) tale of the Seven Sleepers is pointed out here in the shape of a ruined city-out of the pillars of which they build houses-and the actual tombs of the legendary youths, the Mosque of the Seven Sleepers, is divided by three lines of columns, two of which bear inscriptions. Mannert considered the ruins from which these columns were taken to be those of Ad oculum Marinum. The shade of trees and beautiful fountains of Nekaus impart to it the materials for an attractive town, built for the most part of "tob" or sun-dried bricks.
(8) Collo, El-Kollo, the Kollops Magnus (Ko0XXou or K4XX004 ka;) of Ptolemy, the Chulli municipium of the Antonine Itinerary, the Colonia Minerva Chullu and Colonia Chullitana of inscriptions found here. Pliny and Solinus write the name Cullu, and in the list of bishops the same orthography is used.—Mercelli, Africa Christiana. The Arab historians refer to the Mersa el-Collo, the Ancollo of the older geographers.

The town is now an unimportant native trading place of 2,000-3,000 inhabitants. It was at Collo that Pedro of Aragon landed, on the 28th June 1282 (A.H. 68I), nominally to help Abu Bekr Ibn Uizer, governor of Constantine, in his war against his brother, the King of Tunis —though actually to mask his own designs against the House of Anjou —E-Kairoudni, pp. 249 et seq. Pellissier, Mfdm. hist. etgdograihiques sur 'Algdrie, pp. 5-6 ; Zureta, Annales d'Aragon, 1. iv, etc. Solinus mentions Culla as a flourishing centre for purple-dyeing, a prosperity which it maintained in wax and leather to the Middle Ages, when the Pisans and Genoese did a great traffic with the mountain Berbers and plain Arabs, who met here on neutral ground. As late as 1684-1685, 3B2

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it was one of the principal posts of the French African Company, but it never recovered from the rise of Philippeville.

(9) Skidda, the ancient Rusicada, the modern Philippeville. The ancient city appears to have been dedicated to Venus, and the name to have been derived from the Phoenician Rus Cicar, or Rus Saddeh (the Cape of the Plain), from which comes the Arabic Ras Skidda. Scylax, however, speaks of Tapsus, a Phcenician town, having preceded the Roman one. In that case the etymology given above is scarcely acceptable. Possibly, however, the Saf-saf River, which falls into the sea at this point, may be a corruption of Tapsus ? Sucaicada may be Suk el-Ahda-the Sunday market?Playfair, Algeria, p. I 19 ; Piesse, Algdrie, p. 247. The archaeological treasures discovered are numerous and of great interest.

(10) Constantine (Cuqtin of Marmol)—the Kosantina or Kostantina of the Arabs, which name it owes to Flavius Constantinus, who, after the town had been wrecked in A.D. 311 in the war of Maxentius against Lucius Domitius Alexander, restored and embellished it, is perhaps to the historian and archeologist the most interesting town in Algeria, and has had such full justice done as to make any general note upon it superfluous.

It was the Kerth of the MassyLANean kings, and up to 311 the Certa Sitianorum, or Cirta Juliana, of the Romans. The "blacke stones" which Leo described as embedded in the walls of Constantine, and, as paving the road between that city and Philippeville, must have been slabs of the volcanic rock of the Hamman Meskutin, which stretches to Constantine.—Shaw, Travels, p. 127 ; Poiret, Voyage en Barbarie, t. i, p. 166; De la Malle, Constantine, p. 46.
The Rummel. The Sufegmare is also called the Sufmare. Both names are variants of the Arab Sufjim-mar.--De la Malle, Constantine, pp. 25, 35, 45; Hebenstreit, Nouv. ann. des Voyages, t. xlvi, p. 64.
Marmol calls the river the Sufegmar or Bumarzoc. There is a Wad Ramleh, pronounced indifferently Wad Rummel, near Taguira or Tripoli. It means, according to the Beecheys, "sandy river or sandy valley".-Proceedings of the Expedition to explore the Northern Coast of Africa, p. 41, with Corpus Inscrif. Lat. (1881), vol. vii, and Boissiere, L'Algirie Romaine, 2 vols. (1883), fassim, for the Roman antiquities of Algeria.
(12) The King of Tunis "that now is" must have been Mulai Mohammed, who reigned from A.D. 1488 to A.D. 1526. Marmol, who copies Leo's account of the transactions described, adds in a note that he was the grandfather of Mulai Hassan. This could not be;

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for Mulai Mohammed succeeded his cousin, and Mulai Hassan succeeded his father Mohammed, whose reign extended over more than the entire period of which Leo had any personal knowledge.
(13) The "strong castle" strengthened by EI-Kaid Nabil was the old Kasba which dates back to the Romans, and, though rebuilt, is still the French citadel.
(14) The ruins of this arch were standing at the time Shaw wrote "Among the ruins to the south-west of the bridge, upon the narrow strip of land just now described, we have the greatest part of a triumphal arch called The (Cassir Goulah) Castle (as they interpret it) of the Giant, consisting of three arches, the middlemost of which is the most spacious. All the Mouldings and Frizes are curiously embellished with the Figures of Flowers, Battle Axes, and other Ornaments. The Corinthian Pilasters, erected on each side of the grand Arch, are panelled, like the side-posts of the Gates of the City, in a Gusto, as far as I have observed, peculiar to Certa; but the Pillars of the same Order, which supported the Pediment, are broken down and defaced."
-Travels, etc., ist ed., p. 128. The Ksar Gula, or "giant's castle", was perhaps part of the hippodrome, the remains of which were cleared away when the railway station was built.
(15) This passage is extremely absurd in Pory's translation. For the word "tartarughe" (turtles, Cleminys leprosa (Schweigger) the common little freshwater species of Barbary) is Englished "snailes", though Florianus translates "infinita quantith di tartarughe" as "testudinum copia". Probably neither Florian nor Pory ever saw a tortoise or turtle. The turtles are still found in the hot water pools, though, since most of these have been utilised for baths, no longer as plentifully as before. Shaw described the "Kabat beer a-haal"-a "neat transparent fountain"--as "full of tortoises". The superstitions described were commoner in his day, but are not yet extinct.
(16) This building does not now exist, having apparently, like so many Roman and Arab works, been destroyed to furnish materials for the rococo palaces of the
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early days of Christianity, and within its walls councils were held in 402 and 406. The Roman fountain, bubbling up in the centre of the town into a square basin, is still one of the sights of the place. The fruits, especially the pomegranates, are so fine that it is thought the town derived its name from them. Constantine is still largely supplied with vegetables and fruit from Mila-now a French city with a Berber quarter.-Tissot, Giog. Comh. de la Province Romaine d'Afrique, t. ii, pp. 406, 407.

(18) Annaba, Bona, Hippo Regius, Hippene, hence Bone, the modern name. A Berber village rose on its ruins, which in the time of El Bekri bore the name of Medina Zaui. But the same geographer, refers to it as Bona, and mentions that the place had received the designation of Bonat el-Jadida (the New Bona). Bled el-Anab, or Annaba, seems to date from the sixteenth century. There is some foundation for the belief that the city was the still more ancient Aphrodisium, which some Arabic writers call Bouna. Ibn Haukel, writing in A.D. 970, describes it as having many bazaars, fine gardens, and abundance of everything, including mines of iron; so that by attaching the Berbers to his person, the governor of the town was independent; it was not, however, walled until A.D. 1058. Bone was a seat of some early Berber dynasties, which probably gave it the name of royal "et antiquis dilectus regibus Hippo" (SiliusItalicus, iii, v, 259). The Vandals do not appear to have ruined it, for Procopius refers to it in 534 as a strong place. By the time the Byzantine historian, took notice of it, the second word seems to have become part of the name--Irr~ovsp9pg.-Temple, Excursions, etc., vol. i, pp. 64-80.

(19) In 1152-53 a fleet sent by King Roger of Sicily, under the command of Philip of Meledia, captured Bone and reduced the inhabitants to slavery. In A.D. 1249 the town was in the hands of the Hafsid Sultan of Tunis, and a century later fell to Abu-I-Hassan, the Merinide (Beni-Merini). Towards the beginning of the sixteenth century the Tunisians again recovered it. In 1535, Kheir ed-Din garrisoned it, but the Turks evacuated the place on the capture of Tunis by Charles V. A Genoese garrison under Alvar Zagal took their place. But these freelances, after having destroyed the fortifications, retired on the death of their commander, when the Tunisians once more entered, only in their turn to give way to the Algerine Turks. After the French obtained possession of Algiers in 1830,
the people of Bone threw off their allegiance to the Bey of Constantine, and became subject to France.

Othman, the third Khalif, completed what the Vandals (Goths) left undone. Leo only refers to St. Augustine as having been Bishop of Hippo. But here also he died in 431, during the long siege of the city.

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by the Vandals, and in the Basilica of the city where he had resided for thirty-five years he was buried. Removed to Cagliari, his remains lay there for 223 years, until they were transferred to Pavia, where, with the exception of an arm which was taken to Bone in 1842, they still lie.

(20) The town is now well supplied with water from the Jebel Edough, though, as the remains of the cistern and aqueduct show, the Romans had tapped the same sources.

(21) Coral fishing is one of the most ancient industries of the coast. La Calle-Borj el-Kala—a short distance from the Tunisian frontier, was frequented for this purpose as early as A.D. 960; and, as Pliny mentions the rich coral fisheries hereabouts, it was, no doubt, still earlier a seat of this trade. The Bastion de France was built in a little bay west of the town for the convenience of the industry, and about as absolutely unscrupulous a set of scoundrels were engaged in it as can well be imagined.-Playfair, Algeria and Tunis, pp. 126, 127, and The Scourge of Christendom, pp. 239-241; Poirot, Voyage en Barbarie, t. i, pp. 6-24; Du Thiers Lacaze, Hist. Nat. du Corail; organisation, reproduction, pêche en Algérie et industrie (1864); De Cuverville de Cavalier, "La pêche du corail sur les côtes de l'Algérie" (Rev. Maritime et Colon., 1875, pp. 404-433; pp. 657-87), etc. The locality referred to by Leo was probably the same—the Mers el-Jun of Edrisi, the Mers el-kharaz of El-Bekri, noted by both authors as seats of the coral fishery. The spot is close to Cape Rosa, still, or until very recently, noted for the beauty and abundance of its coral.—Shaw, Travels, p. 98; De la Malle, Constantine, p. 219.

(22) Tifesh, the Tefacet of the Arabs, the ancient Tipasa referred to by El-Bekri as a place of great antiquity, containing many ancient ruins. It resisted the Arab invaders of Africa for a long time, but was finally ruined and rebuilt later. Musa en-Naser destroyed it a second time, and after rising from its ashes it fell, A.D. 1057, under the displeasure of Mulai Nazer, son of the King of Tunis.—Tissot, La Province Romaine d'Afrique, t. ii, pp. 387, 389.

(23) A Roman station at least as early as the reign of Vespasian, when it was called Theveste (Civitas Thevestinorum). It was one of the earliest seats of an African bishopric, and here Saints Maximilian and Crispin suffered martyrdom. An Arab tradition says that Tebessa was taken by Okba in A.H. 45. At present the numerous Roman remains, scattered in or about the town, are its chief sources of interest. It is watered by a tributary of the Wad Chabroa, the "great river" of Leo, which in its turn is an affluent of the Wad Meskiana. The modern town is
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The chastisement described was inflicted in A.D. 1510, and therefore in the reign of Mulai Abu Abd Allah Mohammed of Tunis. It is not mentioned by El-Kairougni.

(24) Urbs is perhaps a misprint, or a misreading of the editor for El-Orbes (El-Kairougni, p. 249, etc.), the ancient Lares (ablative Laribus), the Laribus of Procopius (De Bello Vandalico, I, 23). Edrisi also refers to Arbes, i.e., Lorisbus, or Laribus, or Lares, and Ebn Haukal writes of Obba (the modern Ebba), and Al-Orbos. Marmol, L’Afrique, t. ii, 449; Mannert, Glog., Ancienne des Etats Barbaresques (ed. Marcus et Duesberg), pp. 394, 687, 688; Gudrin, Voyage Archiologique dans la Regence de Tunis, t. ii, pp. 86, 87; Tissot, La Province Romaine, t. ii, 454, 459.

(25) Beja, El-Beja, the Roman Vacca, or Vaga, was as early as Sallust’s day a busy mercantile centre. It is the B’ba of Procopius (the 3 pronounced as the V in Latin), the Oppidum Vagense of Pliny, the Colonia Septima Vaga of the inscription on a stone built in the mosque of Sidina Aissa ("Our Lord Jesus"), formerly a Christian basilica. Edrisi speaks of it as a great corn market, and El-Bekri declares that it took 1,000 camels and other beasts of burden to carry off the surplus grain offered for sale in Beja. It was the seat of a bishop.—Gudrin, Voyage Archiologique dans la Regence de Tunis, t. ii, pp. 38-49; Tissot, La Province Romaine, t. ii, pp. 6, 302; Playfair, Travels in the Footsteps of Bruce, pp. 232-237. Cagnat, Revue Archiologique, t. i, pp. 39-46, etc.

(26) Perhaps Ain Samsed—cold spring. Destroyed in Leo’s day, its site cannot now be identified.

(27) Kasba="the castle".

(28) Destroyed before Leo’s day. It cannot now be identified with any certainty. The name of "Coros" seems to have vanished.

(29) Bizerta, a corruption of the Arabic Benzert, which appears again to be derived from Hippo Zarytus, or Diarrhytus, its name during its period as a Roman colony, to distinguish it from Hippo Regius (p. 750)—"Col. ivliae. Hipp. Diarr."

according to an inscription on a stone built into the wall of the Bordj Sidi Bu Hadid or "Spanish fort". Before this it was a Tyrian colony. The "lake" (Mazuka of the Arabs, Hipponitus Pallus of the Romans) still teems: with fish, as it did in Leo’s day. The exclusive right of fishing here, 752

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at Golette, and at Porto Farina, is let by the Tunisian government for a large annual rent. In two days Sir Lambert Playfair saw 10,000 dorados, weighing about ten tons, and worth about £400 in Tunis, taken from the outer lake, and 5,000 large mullets, worth £100, caught in the Tinja Channel (Wad Tinja) between the two lakes.

(30) From what Leo says it would seem that four centuries ago there was still some of Carthage standing. El-Bekri describes the cisterns, the gymnasium, the aqueduct, the theatre, and the port as still in existence or easily traceable. Edrisi, a century and a half later, notices the same monuments of the city's greatness. But in addition vast ruins everywhere met the eye. For though Hassan ben el-Numan, a general of the Kalif Abdul Melik, is said to have entirely destroyed it in A.D. 706 (A.D. 689, or A.D. 694, according to other versions), that was a figure of speech. It was not in the power of anyone, far less the Arabs of twelve centuries ago, to have as completely effaced the Roman Carthage as the Romans razed the Punic city which preceded it. They simply burnt what would burn, and gutted temples and private houses. But for generations subsequently the Arabs pulled down walls and dug out cellars in search of hidden treasure, of which to this day amazing oriental tales are told (Davies, Carthage, pp. 38, 41). Indeed, until the crusade in which St. Louis fell in 1270, the ruined town was not abandoned by Arabs of a higher type than the poor wretches who live and stable their cattle in the cisterns at Malka. Even in Leo's day there were 500 houses, and about 25 shops, a mosque and a school. Yet down to a comparatively recent date, the ruins of Carthage formed an unexhausted mine of wrought marble for the Tunisians, the Pisans, and the Genoese. They provided, for instance, a store of materials for Ahmed Bey's palace at Constantine. Scarcely a ship came to Goletta but it carried off a load of marble out of which so much of Carthage had been built. When Bruce visited it in 1765 little remained except "the cisterns, aqueduct, and a magnificent flight of steps up to the temple of F-sculapius". At present the two first of these objects are all that appear above ground, and the many excavations have not of late revealed much more under the surface.

(31) "Lago della Goletta", erroneously translated "Lake of Tunis", is the ancient Stagnum. The Gulf of Tunis proper is the old Sinus Carthaginensis. A canal is now cut through the shallow lake (ElBahira) from Goletta (Halk el-Wad) to Tunis. Pory has added "1526" as the date when Leo wrote this brief description of Carthage. He must, however, have been there some time before 1520: for 1526 is simply the date of his Italian MS., which was written some years after he had been in Rome (see Introduction).

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(32) Here a characteristic trait of the Barbary sovereigns is omitted in the translation. For Leo explains that the reason for the Carthage College having no pupils was that the revenues might go to the king's court--"dimodo che l'entrata della Camera del rV". He adds, in mentioning the exactions of the king on the residents of Carthage "che niuno pub esser padrone di dieci ducati : la cui ingiusztizia a tutti nota". The injustice of the king, and the difficulty of anyone becoming master of ten ducats, are old tales in Tunis.
(33) This statement, which is also made by Edrisi (ed. Hartmann, p. 264), is evidently a fable due to the error of some copyist who has altered "Tounes" into "Tharsis" or Larsio. Such blunders are easily made in Arabic. Castiglioni, Minn. Giog. et Numismatique sur la Partie Orientale de la Barbarie, etc., p. 37.

(34) Kairwan was founded by Okba ben Nafi ben Abdullab ben Kais el-Fahri, A.D. 675 (A.H. 55). The passage is obviously mistranslated. It is in the original "un Capitano detto Ucba di Utmen quarto pontefice". Okba was not a k halif, but as the text quite accurately states, a captain of Othman, the third Khalif.


(36) Abd el-Mumen took Mehdia from Roger II of Sicily in A.D. 1160 (A.H. 555), leaving Ifrikia to the feeble Hassan Ibn Ali, the last prince of the Ben-Men-td Senhaja, whom he re-established as his vassal.

(37) These sovereigns were: Abu Yakub Yussuf (Joseph) and Abu Yussuf Yakub (Jacob). El-Mansur was Jacob. His son was Mohanfed en-Naser (Mahomet Ennasir). The blunder is in Leo's original Italian, "e i discendenti Giacob e Mansor". Yussuf el-Mostansir was the son, not the brother, of En-Naser.

(38) Abu Mohammed Abd el-Wahed ben Abu Hafs.

(39) Abu Zakaria Yahia (A.D. 1228). He built the Kasba and its mosque in Tunis.

(40) Abd Allah Mohammed el-Mustamer. His father had in reality (A.H. 639, A.D. 1242) made himself master of Tlemsen during the reign of Iagnun ben-Zeiyan (El-KairouAni, p. 220).

(41) Bab Suwaika--in original Beb Suvaica-on the north, leading to Susa and the coast.

(42) Beb el-Manera in the original. It does not now exist, or at least not under that name.

(43) Bab el-Bahr, on the east -the "sea gate" proper, opening to the lake-" lago della Goletta", not "Gulf of Tunis" as translated,

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The other gates are the Bab el-Hathera, the Bab Abd er-Salem, and the Bab es-Sajen, the Bab Sidi Abdullah, and the Bab Sidi Alewa, leading to Zaghuan.

The Bab es-Silsah, near the Kasbah, under which it was death for a Christian to pass, is now closed.

(44) Textile work is still the chief manufacturing industry of Tunis. The kind of spinning described may still be occasionally seen in the old Moorish streets.

(45) Besis, el-Bezin, Zfimeita, Mogatta, Dweeda, Fetaat, etc., are dishes of which the chief ingredient is flour or some other form of farina. They are still commonly used among the Arab and Berber races. The making of Bezin (Bazeen, in Fezzan called Aseeda) is minutely described by Lyon, Travels in Northern Africa, pp. 49-50.

(46) The description given by Leo still applies; though the occupation of Tunis by the French has naturally altered the city, the court, and in many respects the habits of the people, etc.

"Lhasis" (ihasis in the original Italian) is "hashish", or Indian hemp.
"Il ducato d'oro."


Napoli in the original Italian, Nabel, a corruption of the Arabic Nabel el-Kedima (the old Nabel), the Neapolis (Nd-oXit) noticed by Thucydides, Strabo, Scylax, Diodorus Siculus, Pliny, and Ptolemy; the Colonia Julia Neapolis of inscriptions. It was captured by Agathocles in A.D. 309. It seems from the ruins, however, to have been previously a Carthaginian station. It is now a town of 5,000 people, mostly occupied in making the pottery for which it is famous. Under the Romans it seems to have been a place of some importance; but it early began to decay, for Edrisi notes that in his day it was of little account.

Kamart, where there are several Arab country houses, amid olives and gardens, and a ruined palace. Close by is Cape Kamart.

Now a collection of villas and gardens belonging to the Consuls and other well-to-do residents of Tunis, with a few cafés, etc. Near this quarter was one of the principal necropoles of ancient Carthage. Hartmann. (Edrisi, Africa, p. 273) imagines it to be a city.

At present merely a village, notable for its villas belonging to wealthy Arabs and Europeans connected by business with Tunis, and for its pretty gardens-hence the name "Reihan" (the Sweet smelling). The locality in the vicinity of Carthage mentioned by Procopius (De Bello Vandalico, I, liv) as Ad Decimum, must, Mannert considers, have nearly covered the site of Ariana (Mannert, G-ogz Anc., ed. Marcus et Duesberg, p. 685). But Tissot contends very positively, though not very satisfactorily, that this spot was in the defile of Sidi Fathallah-the scene of the first victory of Belisarius over the Vandals.

Arab Hamm.ma. The town does some trade in lemons and olive oil.

Hergla, Herkla, the Heraclaea of the lower Empire: not the Hadrumetum, as Shaw "conjectured", but the Horrea Celia, of the Antonine Itinerary.

Susa or Suse, a former Carthaginian station, the Roman Hadrumetum. It was destroyed by the Vandals, restored by Justinian, and ruined a second time by Okba, who used the material for the construction of Kairwan. The Aghlabites restored the place, which was attacked by Charles V in 1537 and by Andrea Doria in 1539. It is now one of the most flourishing towns of Tunisia. Leo wrongly describes it as built on a plain: its site is a slope, rising to the plain through which Kairwan is reached.

Monastir, Mistir (the Roman Rushina, the 'Pouer/cM of Ptolemy, the 'Povt6r ov of Strabo) is a pleasant place embosomed amid olive groves, which impart a dark green shade to the shore. Davis (Ruined Cities within the Numidian and Carthaginian Territories, p. 321), in adopting Castiglione's and Banks's idea that Monastir was built by Christians, and was a site of one of the monasteries (vagnnpov), which the Arabs transformed into "Mahres" or "rabat", is most likely in error. El-Bekri attributes the foundation of the part-Roman town to Harthema.
ibn Aien (A.H. 180, A.D. 796, 797), and notes that in his day it was a favourite place of retirement for holy men. Hence the number of tombs of saints within and without its walls-a circumstance which led En-Naser to call Monastir "the best of sepulchres and the worst of habitations".-Gubernatis, Lettere sulla Tunisia, pp. 191, 192; Barth, Kuistenlander des Mittelmeeres, p. 159; Guerin, Voyage Archéologique, t. i, pp. 119, 124.

(57) Teboulba, Tbourba, the Thuburbo minus, Thuburbi minus of the Tabula Peutingeriana (ed. G. Harini, 1654), Tuburbo minus of the Antonine Itinerary. The orthography Thuburbo is according to an inscription. This little Arab town does not occupy more than a small part of the old site. It was founded towards the close of the fifteenth century by a colony of expatriated Spanish Moors.-Tissot, La Province Romaine, vol. ii, pp. 247, 248; Barth, Klis/enIdnder des Mittelmeeres, p. 349; Gudrin, Voyage Archéologique, t. i, p. 129.

(58) Mehediyya (variously spelt Mehdia, Mehedia, Mahdia, Mahadia, El-Medea) was a Phcenician emporium, as the many tombs to the north of the town demonstrate. It was founded, according to the current belief, as his maritime capital, by the founder of the Obeidite empire: Obeid Allah el-Mahdi (A.H. 300, A.D. 912-913), who gave it his own title. But the defaced capitals and other pieces of ancient masonry show that Obeid was really built on a Roman site. This place may have been Alipota (or Salipota), and not Sullectum, or Salecto, which must be sought for at Salekta. But either there or at Mehdia was the Turris Hannibalisa, where Hannibal embarked after his flight from Carthage. Shaw (p. 193), who was the first to make this suggestion, founded his identification on a passage in Livy (xxxii, xlvi), "postero die mane inter Achollam [El-Alea] et Thapsyum [Henchir ed-Dimas] ad suam turrim pervenit". Davis (Ruined Cities, etc., p. 302) imagines-"proves", he contends-that Mehdia was Thapsus.

(59) Sigelmessa (Sijilmassa) was at that period (A.D. 909) the seat of El-Isa, the sovereign of the petty kingdom of the Beni-Medran, which exercised authority over the Meknasion tribes of the upper Mulua.-Fournel, Berbers, t. ii, pp. 30-98.

(60) Abu Yezid, son of Makled ben Keidad, a Zeneta of the tribe of Beni-Ifran, a mulatto who had studied under the Mokaddem of the Abu Ammar at Takius and Tuzer. His revolt in Ifrikia was in A.D. 942, when El-KAim was Khalif, and not El-Mahdi as the text implies. But Abu Yezid was finally crushed and slain (A.D. 947) in the reign of El-KA.im's successor Ismail el-Mansur.

(61) Mehdia was captured by Roger II of Sicily in A.D. 1147, and recaptured by Abd el-Mumen in i 160.

(62) In the reign of Richard II (1390), the Duke of Bourbon, who (as Froissart and Holinshed tell) was accompanied by several English knights, laid siege to it, but disease breaking out, he returned without taking "Africa", as Mehdia was often called. In 1519 Pedro Navarro also made a fruitless attempt on it; but in 1551 Charles V, aided by the Knights of Malta, seized the place.-Stella, De Afihrodisio
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A tomb of one of the knights who died here still exists. It is, however, curious that until lately the Mehdia people buried all their dead at Monastir. El-Bekri and Edrisi praise the splendours of Mehdia. The French have much improved the place (both from a sanitary and a commercial point of view), but of ancient glories there are few traces.—Guerin, Voyage Archéologique, t. i, pp. 131-144; Tissot, La Province Romaine, t. ii, pp. 176-178; Castiglioni, Mémoires sur Afrikia, pp. 5-29; Piesse, Algérie et Tunisie, pp. 451, 453(63) Sfax, or Sfakes, "the city of cucumbers", the ancient Taphura, or Taparura, the seat of a bishop—the Episcopus Tapurenensis. It is now a prosperous town of more than 32,000 people, and certainly more deserving of the praise bestowed upon it by El-Bekri and Edrisi than in Leo's day.—De Clam, Fastes Chronologiques de la ville de Sfaks (1890); Lafitte et Servonnnet, Golfe de Gabes en 1888, pp. 12-87; Graham and Ashbee, Travels in Tunisia (1887), pp. 92-95, etc.

(64) Kairwan, Kairawan, Kairouan, Kerouan, "Carvan, named properly in Arabic Cayraven" (Marmol), was often confounded by the older writers with Cyrene, a place more than 600 miles to the east, and occupying a site now called Grena. The reason is that it was called Kuren, which is the same word as "Cairoan", pronounced with the first vowel short, according to the vulgar accent, and with the guttural sound of qdf, approaching that of g, before the letter r.

Kairwan (to use the English pronunciation) is, however, now a well-known city, though until the French occupation of it in 1881, tabu to Jews and Christians, except with a special permit from the Bey; and even then the curious visitor had to run the risk of rough treatment in this holy city of Islam. Now it is possible to visit it without any difficulty, and even to trundle from Susa over a tramway built for the use of the military authorities.

Abd er-Rahman Ibn Abd el-Hakem, the oldest historian of the Arab invasions of Northern Africa, credits Moawiya ibn Hodeij with having founded the city, and Okba-ben Nefa with having enlarged it. For "here", he exclaimed, "will be our Kairwan!"—or caravan station. But En-Nuairi and most other chroniclers attribute its foundation to Okba, A.H. 50 (A.D. 669-70), in the Khalifate of Moawiya I, in the presence of eighteen "Companions" of the Prophet, who, St. Patrick-like, ordered all snakes and wild beasts to disappear from the spot: a mandate indifferently obeyed, since the plain is not free from either. In all likelihood, however, the Arabs merely built on a Roman foundation. The Vicus Augusti, one of the episcopal cities of Byzacena, must
have been almost on this spot, while Hauch-Sabra, two miles to the south, has been claimed, and with greater probability, by Berbrugger and Lapie as the site of that station. Nuairi, indeed, speaks of a castle built by the Greeks and called Kamunea, being on the site chosen for Kairwan, thus by no means confirming the Arab legend about its being all desert. The material of these buildings most probably served for building Okba's new city—the pillars and the mosques being evidently Roman or Byzantine.—Temple, Excursions, etc., vol. ii, pp. 92-102; Cagnat, Explorations, t. iii, p. 21; Pellissier, Description de la Regence de Tunisie, p. 279; Gudrin, Voyage Archologique, t. ii, pp. 324-327; Playfair, Travels, etc., pp. 167-171; Broadley, Tunis, Past and Present, vol. ii, p. 127; Rae, The Country of the Moors, pp.215-313, etc. For some anachronisms in Leo and Marmol, cf. Castiglioni, Mdn. Giog. et Numismatique, pp. 32, 72.

(65) Okba had been deprived of his government of Ifrikia (Muchauia =Mauretania) by Moawiya I, and Dinar Abu el-Mohtjer had been appointed in his place. He was restored by Yezid I, on the death of Moawiya in A.D. 680. He retained his position, according to Leo, until the reign of El-Walid I, son of Abd el-Melik, when he was slain by the Berbers who had taken Kairwan: but seeing that El-Walid did not succeed until A.D. 705, and that Okba, by the best accounts, died in 683, that is, during the reign of Abd el-Malik, there is a confusion in Leo's chronology.

(66) Musa ben Noseir, who arrived at Kairwan A.D. 705 as governor of Ifrikia. What follows refers to the conquest of Spain by Musa and Tarik (governor of Tangier), and the death of Roderic, King of the Goths, A.D. 710-II. For the history of this last, cf. Al-Makkari, Hist. of Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain, vol. i, pp. 288 et seq.

(67) Musa reached Egypt at the close of A.D. 714, when he received this warning from Hishbm ("Hescian"). He came to Damascus two and a half months later, just before the death of El-Walid and the succession of Sulaiman. This Khalif accusing Musa—no doubt with good reason—of peculation, had him beaten with rods, fined him 100,000 pieces of gold, and confiscated all his goods, while Musa's son, 'Abd ulAziz (who had been left governor of Spain, and had married Eglinone, widow of King Roderic), was put to death, and his head sent to his father. Tank after this disappears from history. Taking warning by the fate of his colleague and jealous rival, the shrewd Berber seems to have retired into private life. Mohammed ben Yezid ("Iesul") succeeded Musa as governor of Ifrikia. Leo is too sweeping when he says that the rest of the Ommeyd governors were related to each other.

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(68) The Abasside general, El-Aghlab ("Elagleb"), took possession of Kairwan in the name of the Eastern Khalif. But, as Leo says, "il quale dominb a guisa di signore"—he ruled after the fashion of a prince ("not . . . as a Califa")—and founded the dynasty of the Aghlabites. Abu Jafar el-Mansur founded Baghdad, and made it the capital of the former Khalifate of Damascus.

(69) Obeid Allah, A.D. 903.
En-Nueiri (pp. 424 et seq.) says that this great castle—not to wnof Rakkada, situated in a very healthy place, four miles from Kairwan, was built during the government (or reign) of Ibrahim ben Ahmed (A.D. 875). When the free negroes rebelled and interrupted communication between Rakkada and Kairwan, they were crucified or put to death in ways equally horrible (Mercier, Hist. de l' Afrique Sefit., t. i, p. 290). Rakkada occurs frequently in the history of El-KairouAni, who wrote about A.D. 169i. But both the name and the building seem now to have disappeared. It was Ibrahim ben Ahmed who completed the conquest of Sicily, begun in 827 A.D. by Ziadet Allah, when the Kadi Ased ("one Ased") was sent with a fleet and army at the request of Euphemios, or Euthymeos of Syracuse (who had rebelled against Michael the Stammerer, and was defeated by an imperial army).

Alcamo, on the post road from Palermo to Calatafimi. Ciullo d'Alcamo, one of the earliest Sicilian poets, was a native of the town.

"Gueflet" is almost certainly Jebel Ouslet, and the Roman remains, those of Aqvae Regiae, close at hand; though little now remains to justify their identification except Leo's description.—Tissot, La Province Romaine, t. ii, pp. 586-588.

The history of Kairwan, subsequent to A.D. 150, it is unnecessary to follow. It varied with the fortunes of the Tunisian dynasties, until Tunis became a protectorate of France, since when, curiously enough, the most fanatical city in the Regency has become the only one in which an infidel can enter a mosque. It has no resources, and lives by its traditions and the souls of its prophets.

Kabes, Gabes, Kapes, Gabs, the ancient Tacape, Tacapa, Tacapae, Tacapas. Leo simply repeats the description of El-Bekri, who describes it as a large town surrounded by a high wall of massive stones of antique construction, with a strong castle, several suburbs, bazaars, and caravanserais, a great mosque, and many baths, the whole within a deep ditch, which in case of need could be flooded. Finally, it had three gates. Edrisi says much the same. Nowadays it consists of several villages, scattered over a beautiful oasis of date palms and olives. Sidi Bu-I-Baba is perhaps the village which occupies the site of Tacape; like most of the other villages (particularly Menzel and Dhara) it is built of the remains of the Roman town which preceded it. But with the exception of a few mosaics, capitals of columns, and other carved stones, little remains to mark the spot where stood a Carthaginian emporium, a Roman city, and, in the Christian epoch, the residence of the Episcopius Tacapitanus. Strabo refers to Tacape as an important entrep6t of the Lesser Syrtes.—Playfair, Travels, etc., p. 269; Pellissier, Revue Archdologique, 1847, p. 395 ; Gudrin, Voyages Archdologiques, t. i, p. 196; Moulezun, Bull. Arch. du Comitw des travaux historiques, 1885, p. 126; Tissot, La Province Romaine, t. ii, p. 196; Shaw, Travels, p. 209; Temple, Excursions, vol. ii, pp. 133, 134; Lafitte et Servonnet, Le Golfe de Gabes en 1888, pp. 216-269.

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This is not quite correct, though repeated on p. 334; for the water is both cool and sweet. There is, however, salt and warm water not far away (note 77). The walls have now disappeared.

As far as I can learn, the "habhaziz" (habb 'azzz "the beloved berry") is the ground or pea-nut. But, apart from its not being dug, it is difficult to imagine this fruit being beloved by anyone. The jujube (Zisyphus lotus) grows abundantly in the vicinity.

E1-Hamma or EI-Hanmat el-Kabes, "the warm fountain of Kabes" (Gabes), so called to distinguish it from another Hamma near T6zer, the ancient Aque Tacapitanae, the Arab name being thus an exact translation of the ancient one. It is situated in the Hamma Oasis, exactly eighteen Roman miles from Gabes, which is the distance given in the Antonine Itinerary.

Shaw, who was the earliest writer to identify the site, mentions that at the date of his visit the hot baths were frequented by invalids from all parts of Tunis. The baths were sheltered from the weather by thatched huts, while in the basins, which are about 12 feet square and 4 feet deep, there were benches of stone for the bathers to sit upon. One of the baths was called the Bath of the Lepers. Below it the water stagnates and forms a pool, which seems to be the Lake of Lepers (lago de' Leprosi) mentioned by Leo. The water supplying the baths forms a small rivulet, which, after running through various gardens and the palm groves, and the "Eastern extremity of the Lake of Marks (Melrir) . . . , loseth itself, at a few Miles Distance, in the Sand".- Travels, etc., pp. 213, 214.

The ruins of the old town display a few marks of antiquity, such as carved stones, but the inscriptions noted by Leo had already disappeared in 1739. Nowadays scarcely a relic remains, the stones 3C

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of Aquz Tacapitanae having been utilised for building the modern villages in the oasis, and the Borj el-Hamma, the fort erected here. The temperatures of the hot baths vary from 450 C. to 340 C.

Leo's data are, however, not quite accurate, for, instead of the water "tasting like brimstone", it is perfectly sweet, and when cool is drunk with avidity. Leo, in fact, seems to have depended too much on his memory in describing these hot springs.-Playfair, Proc. R.G.S. (1890), p. 625; Guérin, Voyage Archiologique, t. i, pp. 235, 269, 270; Tissot, La Province Romaine, t. ii, pp. 654, 699; Temple, Excursions, vol. ii, p. 149.

Mahres, Mahares, Mahares of Shaw, a large fishing village at the southern point (Pt. Mahares) of the Bay of Sfax. It bears distinct evidence of having been a much larger place. But Shaw (Travels, p. 195) is, I believe, wrong in regarding it as the Macomades minores ("Macodama"), an ancient Roman municipium; though it is still an open question whether M. Tissot is much more correct in finding the latter at Henchir Oghelt el-Khififa. There are ruins there that is all.-Revue Africaine, t. i, pp. 194-196; La Province Romaine, t. ii, pp. 191, 192. The discovery of inscriptions could alone settle the point.-Lafitte et Servonnet, Le Golfe de Gabès en 1888, pp. 160-163. There was at one time a Sultan of Mahres.
It is not "almost flue hundred miles distant from the isle of Gerbi", but about fifty-
circa a cinquanta miglia). The castle of which Leo speaks is now half ruined.

(79) Gerbo in the original Italian, the Bracheon of Scylax, the Meninsc, or Meniks
(Mv7iy), of Strabo, who used the name then applied to it by the natives, though
Ptolemy makes Menenc only one of two towns on the "Island of the Lotophagi"
(j Aworo7a'wv vOo6 Ac'roqfa2"7rig) of Homer, an identification now generally
accepted. Meninx, probably El-Kantara, seems from its ruins to have been a large
city. The island was afterwards called Girba, and Aurelius Victor notes that two
Emperors -Trebonianus Gallus and his son Voluscanes (A.D. 2S2-254)-were both
raised to the Imperial dignity here--" creati in insula Meninge qua- nunc Girba
dicitur" (Ef5itome, etc., chap. xlv). It is the modern Gerba or Jerba (to use the
pronunciation of the people of the island, mostly Berbers), and the Gelves or
Xerves of the Spanish historians.

(8o) Humtes-Suk is now the trading quarter, and corresponds to this description.
The KaYd, who is responsible for the government, has his residence at Humt-
sedrien near at hand.

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(81) Roger de Loria conquered the island in 1284, and received it in fief from
Peter of Aragon. He erected the great fortress called Borj el-Kebir, which still
stands. In 1315, it was made over by Roger III (de Loria's descendant) to
Frederick of Sicily. In 1333, the island recovered its independence; but in 1431 it
was subdued by Alfonso V of Aragon, who had made an attempt on it in 1424. He
is said to have built El-Kantara-not the town, but the causeway from the island to
the mainland and the Borj Castel. This is perhaps the invasion and conquering of
the island by Christians to which Leo refers: though if he, and not the Aragonese
of 1284, constructed the works mentioned, this shows that the recovery of Jerba
by the King of Tunis was not so rapid as the Arab historians whom Leo follows
are fond of imagining: unless, indeed, between the invasion of Alfonso V in 1432,
and that of Ferdinand the Catholic in 1510, there was an evacuation and a
renewed attempt to gain possession. In any case, the date was not about fifty years
before Leo wrote, but nearer ninety. It also appears that it is to this date that must
be attributed the famous Borj er-Ru'us (or Tower of Skulls), twenty feet high and
ten feet broad, which up to 1848 stood near the Hunt es-Suk. Sir Grenville
Temple saw it in 1832. "No tradition", he tells us, "is preserved of its origin,
except that the skulls are those of Christians. I think it probable that they are
remnants of the Spanish soldiers, who, under the command of the Duke of Alva,
landed at Jerbeh during high water, were attacked and defeated by the Moors, and
obliged to fall back upon their boats; but these, unfortunately for them, were now
high and dry, the tide having during the action receded, and the ships and
transports, to avoid the same predicament, had stood out to sea. The heavily-
accoutred Spaniards tried to regain them, but while floundering in the mud and
weeds, were shot or speared by their exasperated and more lightly-accoutred
enemies, who, it is probable, erected with the dead bodies this tower in
commemoration of their victory and deliverance from foreign invasion. To preserve it, it is occasionally covered with a coat of mortar; when I saw it, a great part of this had fallen down, and exposed to view the ghastly grinning skulls."--Excursions, vol. i, pp. 157, 158. This expedition was in 1510. The view more generally adopted is that the skulls were the ghastly memorials of the expedition sent in 1559-1560 by Charles V under the command of Juán de la Cerda, Duke of Medina-Cceli, Viceroy of Sicily, which was massacred by Dragut. But this is mere speculation. The native historians, like ElKairouini, have nothing to say to this effect. On the other hand, in a curious little account of Jerba written by Mohammed EnNaser, it is expressly noted that it was in A.1. 835 (A.D. 1432), in the reign of Abu Fares, that the tower was constructed out 3C2

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of the bodies of the slaughtered Spaniards. "The Jerbians", he tells us, "cut off the heads of the Spaniards slain in the combat, and in constructing a tower employed the arms and legs to intercalate with the heads. This tower, which still exists [i.e., at the time he wrote, A.D. 1797], is situated in the north on the sea-shore, between the Borj el-Kebjr and the place of embarcation: it attains a height of sixteen cubits, and four in breadth."

In 1848 the representative of Monseigneur Sutter (Vicar-Apostolic of Tunis), Padre Giuseppe de Maria, and the foreign consul Ahmed Bey, gave orders for the removal of the hideous trophy and the burial of the bones in the cemetery of Hmitt es-Suk. This decree was carried out, though not without furious opposition on the part of the Jerbians.

(82) The people of Jerba have been frequently in rebellion, not only against their foreign conquerors but also against their native rulers. In 1510, there was an invasion of Spaniards, nominally under Garcia Alvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alva, and father of the more celebrated duke of that name, though actually under Pedro Navarro. It is the one described by Sir Grenville Temple (ut suifra). In 1520, Charles V sent a more successful expedition under Hugo de Moncada (a" Rhodian Knight of the Order of Saint John de Messina") and Diego de Vera, who granted peace to the Sheikh of the island on his agreeing to pay an annual tribute of five thousand golden dinars (two thousand crowns = twelve thousand francs), and pledging himself to deny asylum to pirates. As Leo was writing a year or two after this compact, "to this day" meant little. Actually the Spaniards had scarcely turned their backs before the treaty was regarded as waste paper, and the island was used as an arsenal, first by Barbarossa (1524), and a little later by the redoubtable Dragut. This brought Andrea Doria with a fleet to Jerba in 1551, when Dragut escaped by cutting a channel for his ships through the sandbanks into Bu Giara, and capturing several galleys sent for the reinforcement of Doria's squadron. In 1599, Felipe II sent Juan de la Cerda on the unfortunate expedition above mentioned.

After this, Jerba was permitted to remain masterless, so far as any European power was concerned, until in 1881 it quietly accepted the French protectorate. The quarrels of the Jerbians, between the death of Dragut before Valletta in 1565
and the present year, have been family differences or struggles between Algerines, Tripolitans, and Tunisians.-Description et histoire de 'Aze de Djerba, traduite du manuscrit du Cheikh Mohammed Abou Rasse Ahmed en-Naceur, par Eriga dit Kayser, Interprète Militaire Auxiliaire de 2e Classe (Tunis 1884). This valuable brochure,

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with a facsimile of the original Arabic, is scarcely known in Europe. I obtained my copy in Sfax.-Lafitte et Servonnet, Le Goûte de Gabks en 1888, pp. 270-314; Brulard, L'Isle de Djerba (Besançon, 1885). For antiquities, Tissot, La Province Romaine, t. i, pp. 190-200; t. ii, 788, 790, 820; Galindo y de Vera, Hist. Vicissitudes y Politica tradicional de España restiecto de sustosesiones en las costas de Africa, pP. 74, 100, 120, etc. The Jerba dialect referred to by Leo is treated of by Basset in his Notes de Lexicographie Berbere, 1883; while many curious facts about Jerba and its Christian enemies may be found in De Mas Latrie's Relations et Commerce de l'Afrique Sept. avec les Nations Ckrdiennes, 1866.

(83) Zavia, SoArah, or So rih, properly Zuagha, or Sotga (Barth, Wanderungen durch die Kiistenlinder des Mittelmeeres, pp.273, 274, 288, 289). The Zu .gha Berbers figure in El-Bekri, and the Jerba wars are described by En-Naceur. The place is called Zu-.ghat eSherkiyya, to distinguish it from another Zuagha. Della Cella refers to the salt deposits of "Zoara, about four leagues west of Tripoli" (Narrative of an Eapedition from Triholi in Barbary, etc., Aufrre's trans., p. 76). It also appears on the Catalan Portulan as Zoyara. A little north of Zu-.ghat eSherkiyya are the ruins of a large town which the Arab authors of the middle ages called Sabra (Et-Tij .ni, p. 175). "Not far from Zu-.gha on the sea shore, we see the ruins of an ancient city called Sabra (Ibn Haukal, journ. Asiatiique, February 1842, p. 166; El-Bekri, p. 44, cf. Tissot, p. 210), which is the ancient Sabrata, Sabaratha, Sabathra, Saratha, etc. It sometimes appears on old charts as "Tripoli vecchia", or Old Tripoli, from forming one of three old Byzantine cities called Tripolis (see the Beecheys' Report of the Expedition to explore the Northern Coast of Africa from Tribolis, etc., pp. 25 et seq.). Leo refers to it under that name. The identity of Sabrata with the Abrotonum ('Agpor'yov) of Scylax, Strabo, and Pliny, has now been satisfactorily traced (Barth, Miller, Vivian Saint-Martin, Tissot), so that the learning which placed it at Tajuira (Della Cella) or at Tripoli (Beechey) was thrown away. It was at "Soara" that, on the 16th of August 1551, the Knights of St. John (of Malta) under Leon Strozzi were defeated. This affair, and the poor success which attended their possession of Tripoli, no doubt determined the order to refuse Charles the Fifth's offer of Mehedia, which they had helped to capture. The Knights had no stomach for more of Africa.

(84) Lepede in original, Lebida, Lebda, or Lepda, the ancient Leptis (j Airrig) Magna. The ruins (extensive, "but all in bad taste:

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chiefly done in the time of Aurelian—indeed very bad” in the opinion of Bruce—are yearly vanishing, owing to the fine granite and marble pillars being exported for the vilest uses, such as the manufacture of mortars and oil mills.—Playfair, Mediterranean, p. 45; Rae, The Country of the Moors, pp. 45-48.

Leo in this passage labouring under an error. Leptis was originally a Sidonian settlement (Sallust, Jugurtha, cap. 80), and flourished under the rule of Rome, though to the last markedly Phcenicianised, owing to the marriage and intercourse of the colonists with the neighbouring Numidians speaking the Berber language. During the Vandal occupation, Genseric, adopting his usual policy of destroying the fortifications of African cities, razed those of Leptis, with the result that the town was so subject to Barbarian inroads, that many of the inhabitants deserted it. Justinian, therefore, on the citizens adopting Christianity, rebuilt the walls both of Leptis and the neighbouring city of Sabrata (Procopius, De Edificiis, lib. vi, cap. iv). During the reign of Constans II (A.D. 647-8), the Levata, a well-known Berber tribe, from whom in Rennell’s opinion the word Libya was derived, again invested the place. These inroads, combined with the drifting sands of the desert, made Leptis so uncomfortable a place of residence that it was gradually abandoned for Tripolis, built on the site of the ancient Oea. Then the barbarians poured in, so that when Abd Allah’s Arabs arrived, there must have been comparatively little to destroy, and that little—together with the ruins of Sabrata—may possibly have been employed in the rebuilding of the Roman town of Tripoli, the modern Tripoli of Barbary, the Tarabolus (Trabilis) al-Ghurb of the Arabs, (to distinguish it from Tripoli in Syria). Tarabolis is simply Tripoli Arabised. Leptis is referred to by Scylax, Strabo, Ptolemy, Pomponius Mela and other writers, as Neapolis (Nsa&aroXi), which was, perhaps, as Bartil suggested, a particular quarter of the city. The favourable situation for commerce—far more so than Tripoli—made the citizens so wealthy, that at the time the city was part of the Carthaginian territory, they were assessed at a tribute of one talent (more than 222) a day (Livy, xxxiv, 64). Even after it came under Roman rule, the Leptis people paid annual taxation amounting to 300,000 pounds of oil, keeping their Punic constitution so far as to be governed (an inscription shows) by Suffetes as late as the first century of our era. The last mention of Leptis is in an ecclesiastical text of A.D. 482.

(85) Tripoli Vecchia—Old Tripoli, or Sabrata (note 83). Oea, Sabrata, and Leptis Magna constituted a feudal union, and the district of the Three Cities governed by a Concilium Annum was called

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Libya Tripolitana. This name has been reserved for Oea, after it was occupied by Greek-speaking colonists. Oea (Mela and Pliny)Eo a (Ptolemy), Occa (of the Antonine Itinerary), Osa (in the Peutinger Itinerary), Ocea in some old geographical treatises by the blunder of copyists—was founded by the Romans at a date which from lack of material evidence we cannot yet settle, and peopled partly by colonists from Sicily and partly by the more civilised Libyans.
(86) By this is meant, not as sometimes supposed Oea, on the site or out of the ruins of which the present city is built, but (ut sufra) "Tripoli Vecchia", or Sabrata. The walls of Tripoli now standing are said to have been constructed, with other fortifications, by Dragut, (the corsair chief, whose Kubba, or tomb, is one of the most venerated in the city), and, though now decaying, show signs of very solid workmanship; not agreeing, therefore, with Leo's description of their being high and beautiful but "not verie strong". Leo and Dragut were not contemporaries-Dragut being the later of the two-so that the present walls may have been built or strengthened after the former visited Tripoli. The date-palms are still as plentiful as ever, the sandy plain of which our traveller speaks being thickly dotted with them. But nowadays, at least, the houses bear no comparison with those of Tunis. Tunis, indeed, until the French conquest gave an impetus to Algiers, was the most civilized of all the Barbary cities. -Borsari, Geografia etnologica e storica della Trfimetania Cirenaica e Fezzan (1868), pp. 102-126.

(87) This theory of the inroads of the sea cannot be entirely accepted. The sea on all this part of the coast is shallow-at ebb-tide it is possible to wade from Jerba to the mainland by Tarik el-Jemel, "the camel's way"-mainly because it is constantly being shoaled by the drifting into it of the desert sands, which the wind sweeps seaward, now more than ever since the scantiness of cultivation has interposed fewer obstacles against the encroachments of the Sahara. The result of the soil not being bound together by plants, is that the desert has in places encroached to the very walls of Tripoli, and has no doubt covered what in former days was cultivated ground. This portion of the ancient ruins does not quite support the popular view of the encroachment of the sea, or the sinking of the land. In Tripoli few memorials of the past have survived the wreck wrought by the Arab invaders - nomads, and, like the Saxon invaders of England, haters of towns and town life, until effeminacy, the love of trade, and the necessity of possessing strongholds compelled them to build castles and walled collections of houses, or to reconstruct after their own
taste the ruins of the Roman cities which they had sacked and left to the jackals. But one, now jammed in among poor houses near the sea gate (Bab el-Bahr) is sufficiently notable to make some amends for the absence of others. This is the splendid quadri-frontal white marble arch which, as an inscription on it records, was reared by the Consul Scipio ..Efritus, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, and subsequently dedicated to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Aurelius Verus, his successors. This triumphal arch proves (i) that the coast cannot have undergone much change in level since the seventh century ; and (2) that, contrary to the notion of Leo and his copyists, the present city of Tripoli is erected on much the same site as the Roman one. The latter, no doubt, covered a greater space of ground, and may have extended, as Leo contends, a little further north; but it could not have gone far, even admitting the sinking of the land, for the depth soon sinks to six or seven fathoms, and a depression to this extent must have overwhelmed the entire site. Moreover, to the eastward is a tract of rocky and
elevated ground, on which was the ancient Roman cemetery, where many sepulchral urns have been found.-Beechey, Proceedings of the Expedition to explore the North Coast of Africa, etc., pp. 15, i9). The arch is well figured in Bruce's drawings on Plates xxvii and xxviii of Playfair's Travels, etc., and in Lyon's Travels, etc., p. 18. It is also referred to but not figured in Tully's Narrative of a Ten Years' Residence at Trioli in Africa (pp. 8, 9), a valuable work, though full of historical inaccuracies.

The scarcity of corn is due partly to the limited amount of agricultural land, and partly to the uncertainty of the rain-fall. In good seasons Tripoli still exports grain, but in dry ones it does not grow enough for the use of the people in the Vilayet. At the same time, the sandy plain to the S.W. is in part occasionally flooded during the prevalence of strong northerly gales, and there is marshy ground to the westward of the town between these celebrated places and the sea.

Captain (afterwards Admiral) Beechey, in commenting on Leo's assertion about the old corn lands being under the sea, remarks: "From this account, contrasted with the actual appearance of the place in question, we must either suppose that the level of the lands here alluded to, which are those in the immediate neighbourhood of Tripoly, is higher at the present time than it was in the age of Leo, or that the sea has retired since that period. For although the soil of Tripoly still continues to be sandy, there is now no part of it overflowed to the southward of the town." This, an examination by the editor, bears out, and it is possible that, since Leo's day, earthquake movements may have altered the level of this part of the Barbary coast.

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(88) Abu-l-Hassan went to war against Abu Hafez Omar in A.H. 748 (A.D. 1348), the latter not fleeing to the desert as Leo has it, but, according to El-KairouAni, to Gabes, where he was slain by the partisans of Abu-l-Hassan. But the latter, having suffered a great disaster before Kairwan, had to return to save his Moroccan and other western dominions, where his son Abu Einan had raised a rebellion, and various subject cities had revolted. Then Abu el-Abb's of Tunis recovered the throne of the Beni-Hafez of Tunis. Abu Einan, in A.D. 758, forced Abu Ishak Ibrahim of Tunis to evacuate his capital and take refuge in Mehdia, where nearly all central Maghrebs recognised the conqueror; but a mutiny of his troops compelled Abu Einan to repair to Fez without consolidating the advantages gained. Then Abu Ishak Ibrahim was therefore permitted to return to Tunis. El-KairouAni says nothing about his being imprisoned at Ceuta and restored by Abu Selim. On the contrary, he is said to have died twelve years after his restoration, though the native historians differ as to the exact date, which El-KairouAni gives as A.H. 779 (A.D. 1369).

In the original the names of Abu-l-Abb's ("Abulabbis"), King of Tunis, and Abu Einan ("Abuenan"), King of Fez, are given. Florianus omits them in his translation, and Pory follows suit.
(89) This seizure of Tripoli was made in 1355 by Philip Doria, Admiral of the Republic of Genoa, who acted without the authorisation of his government. The latter being at peace with Tripoli, and fearing the consequences to their merchants in Tunis and other Barbary ports, disallowed the act. Yet the filibusters, after remaining four months in Tripoli, plundering freely, were permitted to return to Genoa laden with loot, and received only a nominal punishment. A ransom is said to have been negotiated through Ibn Mekki, the ruler of Gabes. The date is given in a footnote to El-KairouAni’s history as 1342. But as El-Kairoufni himself gives it as 1355 (A.H. 756), which corresponds to that stated by Genoese historians, MM. Pellissier and R--musat must have made a slip of the pen.—Istorie di Ma/teo Villani, C. 47, 48, 49, 60; El-Kairouf.ni, pp. 248, 249, Ibn Khaldoun; Hist. des Berb3res, t. iii, pp. 49, 51, 52, 164, 173, De MasLatrie ; Traitesdejafaix, etc., pp. 224 et. seq. ; Wailles, Bibliography in Bull. de Correspondance Africaine (1884), pp. 227-237; and Playfair, Suff. Papers R.G.S. (1889), pp. 559-614, for fuller references and titles of works briefly cited.

(90) This portion of Leo’s history is very confused and inaccurate. Pedro Navarro captured Tripoli in 1510. For a long time previously it had been governed by the Beni-Amer. Abu Fares, King of

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Tunis, had conquered the last prince of that dynasty. But at the time when Navarro attacked it, the city and neighbouring territory was governed by an independent Sheik, some of whose predecessors are named by Leo. The place was stubbornly defended, street by street, house by house. But though it was much knocked about, and many of the inhabitants and Genoese merchants, impoverished by the sack-in which enormous booty was obtained-deserted it, Tripoli was not, as Leo and Marmol declare, ”destroyed by the Christians”. On the contrary, Diego de Vera, being appointed governor, made it stronger than ever. Indeed, Leo, while previously describing the walls as not very strong, now notes them as ”most strong”. Jayme de Requesens, for long the successor of de Vera, carried on the work of the latter. while Guillem de Moncada, brother of Hugo de Moncada, Viceroy of Sicily, also continued to repair the damages committed during Pedro Navarro’s assault.

In 1530 Charles V gave Tripoli and Malta to the Knights of St. John, who had just then lost Rhodes. But in 1551 (according to Marmol) they were expelled by Sinan Pasha and Dragut. After this the place continued, with brief, intervals, in Turkish hands. The piracies of the Tripolitans were, however, so notorious that again and again was the city bombarded by European fleets. The Bashawi also became independent. After 1714 Ahmed Pasha KaramAnli and his descendants ruled the city and province as a dynasty, owning allegiance to the Sultan of Turkey, just as the Beys of Tunis did—that is, in the most nominal way. But in 1835 the Sultan, taking advantage of one of the many Arab outbreaks, reasserted his authority, and has ever since ruled Tripoli as a vilayet of the empire.

(91) The Berber girls have still a habit of tattooing crosses on their arms and cheeks, though it is only a pious belief that the ornamentation has anything to do with their pristine veneer of Christianity, which in the inaccessible retreats
affected by them might have long remained uninfluenced by Islam. It is even possible that some of the Roman Christians retreated from the ravaging Arabs to the mountain houses of the race with whom they had formed alliances of friendship, marriage, and a common faith.

(92) Aures, properly Auragh, the Audon of Ptolemy, one of the most interesting mountain regions in Algeria. Its inhabitants, the Khawia or Zenate, a Berber people, who have no doubt Roman blood in their veins, are the debris of the, Vandal and Byzantine colonists who found a refuge here from religious persecution and the harassment of successive conquerors. Their physiognomy, language, and customs bear evidence to this. In youth the women are very beautiful,

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with fine classical features. Latin words occur in the ordinary speech, and they observe the 25th of December as a feast under the name of MilAd (the Birth), and keep three days' festivals both at springtime and harvest. They use the solar instead of the Mohammedan lunar year, and the names of the months are the same as our own. The interesting remains of Timegrad, the ancient Thamugas, are in this district, though not noticed by Leo, from which it may be inferred that he knew personally little of this region "inhabited by most barbarous people".- Playfair, Travels, etc., pp. 60-68 ; Boeswillwald-Cagnat, Timegad, une Citd Africaine (189i); Masqueray, "Formation des Cits chez les Populations Sddentaires de l'Alfgrie (1886), and De Aurasio monte ab initio secundi pi. Ch. sceculi usque ad Salomonem Exfieditionem Thesis Faculta/is Litterarun in Academia Parisiensi, etc. (1886) ; Graham, "Remains of the Roman Occupation of North Africa," etc. (Trans. Roy. Inst. Brit. Architects vol. i, N.S. 1885), etc.

(93) For notes on this and other early accounts of Constantine, see Dureau de la Maille, Province de Constantine, pp. 167-197, etc.

(94) Zaghuan, the ancient Zengis, which gave its name to Zengitana (Africa propria). On a mountain over one of the springs, the ancient Zucchra Civitas (the village of Ben Saida) now supplying Tunis, as of old they supplied Carthage, there was in Shaw's day an inscription :"Rorisii totivsque Divinze Domvs ejvs civitas Zvccharia fecit et dedicavit." There are many Roman remains in this district.

(95) Jebel Neffisa, a name applied by the natives to that part of the Tripolitan chain which extends between Wazzen (of Tripoli) and Rejban. The Ater Mons of the Romans was perhaps the chain between Jebel es-S 6da and Jebel Neffisa.- Tissot, La Province Romaine, t. ii, pp. 698, 708, 7 15.

(96) Jebel Ghurian, an inhabited volcanic mountain district, 2000 ft. high, due south of Tripoli. Many of the inhabitants, who bear traces of Jewish ancestry, live in subterranean houses. Their saffron (Crocus) plantations are still famous, though under endless tyrannies and oppression the population has much decreased. There are many Roman ruins in this district.- Lyon, Travels in Northern Africa, p. 25; Barth, Travels in North and Central Africa, vol. i, pp. 48, 49.
(97) Beni Houarah? Sir Lambert Playfair suggests to me.
(98) Ksar Ahmed, possibly named after either Ahmed ben Omar, the Aghlabite general, or Ahmed ben Hassan el-Kelbi, both of whom

would answer to Leo's description. Ksar Ahmed has now disappeared, though a place near Mesurata (Ras Bu Sheifa) is still known by that name and marked by a Marabout's tomb.-Della Celia, p. 49.
Not far from this place, on the shores of the Syrtes, lived the robber tribe of Uled Ali, which as late as 1815 was exterminated by Mohammed Karamnli, eldest son of the Bashaw of Tripoli, an incident which may give a clue to the disappearance of tribes before and since Leo's day.
(99) Sueka, the Sudeyca of Marmol, near-according to him-to Ptolemy's Cape Trieri-the three-pointed.
(ioo) Ksar Husn—the Caar Hascen of Marmol, built by the army of Okba after the ruin of Old Tripoli.

JOHN LEO HIS
SIXTH BOOKE OF
the Historie of Africa, and
of the memorable things
contained therein.
Of the village called Gar.
Auing hitherto intreated of the mountaines, it now remaineth that we say somewhat as touching certaine villages, hamlets, and territories: and afterward we will describe in order the cities of Numidia. And first the village of Gar, situate vpon the Mediterran sea, and abounding with dates, offereth it selfe: the fields thereto belonging are drie and barren, and yet bring they foorth some quantitie of barley for the sustenance of the inhabitants.'
Of Garell Gare.
T is a certaine little territorie or Grange, containing caues of a marvellous depth, whence (they say) the stones were taken wherewith olde Tripolis was built, because it is not far distant from that citie.2
Of the village of Sarman.
T His large village standing not farre from old Tripolis, aboundeth with dates, but no come will grow there.3

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Of the village called Zaiuat Ben Iarbuh.
T His village being situate neer vnto the Mediterran sea, yeeldeth great plente of dates, but no come at all and is inhabited by certaine religious persons3.4
Of the village of Zanzor.
T His village also standing neere vnto the Mediterran sea, within twelue miles of Tripolis, is inhabited by sundrie artificers, and aboundeth with great store of dates, pomegranats, and peaches. The inhabitants
haue beene verie miserable euer since Tripolis was taken by the Christians; and yet they traffique with the citizens of Tripolis, and carrie dates thither to sell.5
Of the village of Hamrozo.
T standeth sixe miles from Tripolis, and the gardens thereof bring forth great plentie of dates, and of all other kinde of fruits.6
Of the plaine of Taïora.
THis plaine standing two miles eastward of Tripolis, containeth many granges exceedingly replenished with dates and other fruits. The surprise of Tripolis was verie profitable for this place, for then many principal citizens fled hither for refuge. The inhabitants being ignorant and rude people, and altogether addicted to theft and robberie, build their cottages with the boughes of palme-trees. Their food is barley bread, and Bezin before describ'd: all round about are subiect vnto the king of Tunis and the Arabians, saue those onely that inhabit vpon this plaine.7

HISTORIE OF AFRICA.
Of the Prouince of Mesellata.
T His Prouince standing vpon the Mediterranean sea about flue and thirtie miles from Tripolis, and being fraught with rich villages, castles, and inhabitants, aboundeth also with great plentie of olives and dates. The inhabitants being free from all forren authoritie, haue a Captaine among themselues, which gouerneth their commonwealth, and fighteth their battles against the Arabians and the soldiers of this Prouince are about 5000.8
Of the Prouince of Mesarata.
T His Prouince being situate also vpon the Mediterranean sea, about an hundreth miles from Tripolis, hath manie villages both vpon the plaines and mountaines. The inhabitants are rich and pay no tribute at all, and exercise traffique with the Venetians resorting to this Prouince with their galleies, carrying the Venetian wares to Numidia, and there exchanging the same for slaues, muske, and ciuet, which is brought thither out of Ethiopia.9
Of the desert of Barca.
His desert beginning at the vtmost frontire of Mestrata, Tand extending eastward as farre as the confines of Alexandria, containeth in length a thousand and three hundreth, and in bredth about 200. miles. It is a rough and vnpleasant place, being almost utterly destitute of water and corne. Before the Arabians inuaded Africa, this. region was void of inhabitants: but now certaine Arabians lead here a miserable and hungrie life, being a great way distant from all places of habitation: neither, haue they any come growing at all. But come and other necessaries are brought vnto them by sea from Sicilia, which that euerie of them may purchase, they are constrained to lay their sonnes to gage, and then goe rob and rifle travellers

THE SIXTH BOOKE OF THE
The Arabians to redeeme them againe. Neuer did you heare of more of Barca
cruell and cruell and bloodie theeeues; for after they :haue robbed bloodie
merchants of all their goods and apparell, they powre
warne milke downe their throats, hanging them vp by the heeles vpon some tree,
and forcing them to cast their gorge, wherein the lewd varlets search diligently for
gold, suspecting that the merchants swallowed vp all their
crownes before they entred that dangerous desert.10
Of the citie of Tesset in Numidia.
N the first booke of this present discourse we said that
Numidia was accounted by the African Cosmographers
the basest part of all Africa, and there we alleaged certaine persons for the same
purpose: we signified also in the second Booke, writing of the province of Hea,
that certaine cities of Numidia stood neere vnto mount Atlas. Error. Howbeit
*Sus, Guzula, Helchemma, and Capes, are within
the kingdome of Tunis, albeit some would haue them situate in Numidia." But
my selfe following the opinion of Ptolemey, suppose Tunis to be a part of
Barbarie.
Being therefore about to describe all the cities and townes of Numidia, I will first
begin with Tesset: which ancient towne built by the Numidians neere vnto the
Libyan deserts, and enuironed with walles of sunne-dried bricke, deserueth
scarcely the name of a towne; and yet containeth fower hundred families. It is
compassed round about with sandie plaines, sauing that neer vnto th e towne grow
some store of dates, of mill-seed, and of barley, which the miserab le townesmen
use for food. They are
constrained also to pay large tribute vnto the Arabians inhabiting the next deserts.
They exercise traffique in the land of Negroes and in Guzula, insomuch that they
spend most of their time in forren regions. They are of a blacke colour, and
destitute of all learning. The women- indeed teach their yoong children the first
rudiments of learning
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but before they can attaine to any perfection, they are put to labour, and to the
plough-tayle. The said women are somewhat whiter then other women: some of
them get their liuing by spinning and carding of wooll, and the residue spend their
time in idlenes. Such as are accounted richest in this region, possesse but verie
few cattell. They till their ground with an horse and a camel], which kinde of
plowing is obserued throughout all Numidia.12
Of the village of Guaden.
T His village situate vpon the Numidian desert neere
vnto Libya, is inhabited by most miserable and grosse people. Here growtheth
nothing but dates : and the inhabitants are at such enmitie with their neighbours,
that it is dangerous for them to go abroad. Howbeit they glue themselues to
hunting, and take certaine wilde beasts called Elamth, and ostriches, neither do
they eate any other flesh. All their goates they reserue for milke. And these people also are blacke of colour.3
Of the castles of Ifran.
The beast called Elamth
F Ower castles there are called by this name, built by the Numidians three miles each from other vpon a certaine riuer, which in the heat of sommer is destitute of water. Neere vnto these castles are certaine fields greatly abounding with dates. The inhabitants are verie rich, for they haue traffique with the Portugals at the port of Gart The port of Guessem, whose wares they carrie to Gualata and Tombuto. Gart Guessem. These castles containe great store of inhabitants, which make certaine brazen vessels to bee solde in the land of Negros: for they haue copper-mines in sundrie places Copper-mines. thereabout. Every castle hath a weekly market; but corne and flesh are at an extreme rate there. They goe decently appareld, and haue a faire temple to resort vnto, 3D 777
THE SIXTH BOOKE OF THE and a iudge also that decideth none but ciuill controversies: for criminall matters they use to punish with banishment onely.14 Of the castles of Accha. T Hree castles of this name built vpon the Numidian deserts not far from Lybia were in times past well stored with inhabitants, but at length by ciuill wars they were vutterly dispeopled. Afterward (all matters being pacified) there were, by the meanes of a certaine religious man, who gouerned the same people, certaine new colonies planted. - Neither haue the poore inhabitants any thing to do, but onely to gather dates.15 Of the prouince of Dara. T His Prouince beginning at mount Atlas extendeth it selfe southward by the deserts of Lybia almost two hundred and fiftie miles, and the bredth thereof is verie narrow. All the inhabitants dwell vpon a certaine riuer which is called by the name of the Prouince. This riuer sometime so ouerfloweth, that a man would thinke it to be a sea, but in sommer it so diminisheth, that any one may passe ouer it on foote. If so be it ouerfloweth about the beginning of Aprill, it bringeth great plentie vnto the whole region: if not, there followeth great scarcitie of come. Vpon the banke of this riuer there are sundrie villages and hamlets, and diuers castles also, which are enuironed with walles made of sunnedried bricke and mortar. All their beames and planchers consist of date-trees, being notwithstanding vnfit for the purpose; for the wood of date-trees is not solid, but flexible and spungie. On either side of the said riuer for the space of flue or sixe miles, the fields abound exceedingly with dates, which with good keeping will last many yeeres: and as here are diuers kindes of dates, so they are sold at sundry prices: for a bushell of 778
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some is worth a duckat, but others wherewith they feede their horses and camels, are scarce of a quarter so much value. Of date-trees some are male and some are female: The strange the male bring forth flowers onely, and the female fruit: pame or datebut the flowers of the female will not open, vnlesse the tree. boughes and flowers of the male be joined vnto them: And if they be not joined, the dates will prove starke naught and containe great stones. The inhabitants of Dara hue vpon barlie and other grosse meate: neither may they eate any bread but onely vpon festiuall daies. Their castles are inhabited by goldsmithes and other artificers, and so are all the regions lying in the way from Tombuto to Fez: in this prouince also there are three or fower proper townes, frequented by merchants, and strangers, and containing many shops and temples. But the principall towne called Beni Sabih,17 and inhabited with most valiant and liberall people, is diuided into two parts, either part hauing a seuerall capitaine or gouvernour: which gouvernours are oftentimes at great dissension, and especially when they moisten their arable grounds, by reason that they are so skanted of water. A merchant they will most courteously entertaine a whole yeere together, and then friendly dismissing him, they will require nought at his hands, but wil accept such liberalitie as he thinkes good to bestow vpon them. The said gouvernours so often as they fall a skirmishing, hire the next Arabians to aide them, allowing them daily halfe a duckat for their pay and somtimes more, and giuing them their allowance every day. In time of peace they trim their harquebuzes, handguns, & other weapons: neither saw I euer (to my remembrance) more cunning harquebuziers then at this place. In this prouince groweth great store of Indico being an herbe like vnto zndico. wilde woad, and this herbe they exchange with the merchants of Fez and Tremisen for other wares. Corne is very scarce among them, and is brought thither from 3D2

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Fez and other regions, neither haue they any great store of goats or horses, vnto whom instead of prouender they giue dates, and a kinde of herbe also which groweth in the kingdome of Naples, and is called by the Neapolitans Farfa. They feede their goates with the nuts or stones of their dates beaten to powder, whereby they grow exceeding fat, & yeeld great quantitie of milke. Their owne food is the flesh of camels and goates, being vnsauoritie and displeasant in taste. Likewise they kill and eate The flesh of the ostriches, the flesh whereof tasteth not much vnlike to the Ostrich.

flesh of a dunghill-cocke, sauing that it is more tough and of a stronger smell, especially the ostriches leg, which consisteth of slimie flesh. Their women are faire, fat, and courteous: and they keepe diuers slaues which are brought out of the land of Negros.

Of the pronunc of Segelnesse.

THE SIXTH BOOKE OF THE
beginneth not farre from the towne of Gheseluin, and stretcheth southward by the river of Ziz an hundred and twenty miles, euen to the confines of the Libyan deserts. The said prouince is inhabited by certaine barbarous people of the families of Zeneta, Zanhagia, and Haoara, and was in times past subject vnto a certaine prince, which bare rule ouer the same prouince onely. Afterward it fell into the possession of king Joseph of the Luntune-family, and then into the hands of one Muahidin, and not long after it was enjoyed by the king of Fez his sonne. But since that time, the prince of this region was slaine in a rebellion, and the citie of Segelmesse was destroyed, and till this day remaineth desolate. Afterward the inhabitants built certaine castles, whereof some are at libertie, and others are subject to the Arabians.

HISTORIE OF AFRICA.
Of the prouince of Cheneg

This region extending it selfe by the river of Ziz vnto mount Atlas, containeth many castles, and bringeth forth great abundance of dates, which dates are but of small value. Their fields are barren and of little circuit, saue only betweene the river Ziz and the foot of mount Atlas, where some store of barley used to grow. The inhabitants are some of them subject to the Arabians, others to the citie of Gheseluin, and the residue Hue at their owne libertie. And vnto these the high way leading from Segelmesse to Fez is subject, and they exact great tribute of the merchants travelling the same way. Neere vnto the said high way stand three castles, the first whereof being situate vpon an exceeding high rocke, seemeth to touch the clouds. Vnder this castle there is a certaine house where a garde of soldiers continually stand, who for the load of every camell that passeth by, demand one fourth part of a duckat. The second castle being fifteene miles distant from the first, standeth not vpon an hill but on a plaine, and is farre more stately and rich then the former. The thirde castle called Tammaracroft is situate vpon the common high way about twenty miles southward of the second. There are certaine villages also, and other castles of meaner account. Corne is maruellous scarce among them: but they have goates great plentie, which in winter they keepe in certaine large caues, as in places of greatest safetie, whereinto they enter by a most narrow passage. Likewise the entrance into this region for the space of forty miles is so narrow, that two or three armed men onely may withstand mighty forces.

THE SIXTH BOOKE OF THE
Of the region of Ma/gara.

This region beginning southward from the region last described, containeth many castles built vpon the river of Ziz, the principall whereof is called Helel, wherein remaineth the governour of the whole region being an Arabian by birth. The soldiers of this Arabian governour dwell in tents vpon the plaines : and he hath other soldiers attending vpon his owne person also, who will suffer no man to passe but vnnder safe conduct, without deprivuing him of
all his goods. Here are likewise divers other villages and castles, which not being
Woorthy the naming I haue of purpose omitted.
Of the territorie of Retel.
R EteJ22 bordering vpon the region last described,
extendeth also fiftie miles southward along the riuver of Ziz, euen to the confines
of Segelmesse. It containeth many castles, and yeldeth plentie of dates. The
inhabitants are subiect vnto the Arabians, being extremely courteous, and so faint
harted, that an hundred of them dare scarce oppose themselves against ten
Arabians: they till the Arabians ground also as if they were their slaves. The east
part of Retel bordereth vpon a certaine desolate mountaine, and the west part vpon
a desert and sandie plaine, whereunto the Arabians returning home from the
wilderness, do resort.
Of the territorie of Segelmesse.
THis territorie extending it selfe along the riuver of Ziz Tfrom north to south
almost twenty miles, containeth about three hundred and fiftie castles, besides
villages and hamlets: three of which castles are more principall than the rest. The
first called Tenegent, and consisting of a
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thousand and moe families, standeth neere vnto the citie of Segelmesse, and is
inhabited with great store of artificers. The second called Tebuhasan, standeth
about eight miles to the south of Tenegent, being furnished also with greater
numbers of inhabitants, and so frequented with merchants, that there is not in that
respect the like place to be found in all the whole region besides. The third called
Mamun is resorted vnto by sundry merchants, both Iewes and Moores. These
three castles haue three seuerall gouernours, who are at great dissension among
theselues. They will ofteentimes destroy one anothers chanelles, whereby their
fieldes are watered, which cannot without great cost be repaired againe. They will
stow the palme-trees also to the very stocks: and vnto them a companie of lewd
Arabians associate themselues. They coine both siluer and gold-money: but their
gold is not very speciall. Their siluer coine weigherh fower graines apeece, eightie
of which pieces are esteemed to be woorth one peece of their gold-coine. The
Iewes and Arabians pay excessiue tribute here. Some of their principal men are
exceeding rich, and vse great traffique vnto the land of Negros: whither they
transport wares of Barbarie, exchanging the same for gold and slaves. The
greatest part of them liue vpon dates, except it be in certaine places where some
come grow. Here are infinite numbers of scorpions, but znfinit numbers of Scorno
flies at all. In summer-time this region is extremely pions. hot, and then are the
riuers so destitute of water, that the people are constrained to draw salt water out
of certaine pits. The said territorie containeth in circuit about eightie miles, all
which, after the destruction of Segelmesse, the inhabitants with small cost walled
round about, to the ende they might not be molested by continuall inrodes of
horsemens. While they liued all at vnitie and concord, they retained their libertie:
but since they fell to mutuall debate, their wall was razed, and each faction inuited
the
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Arabians to helpe them, vnder whom by little and little they were brought in subjection.23

Of the towne or citie of Segelmesse.

Some are of opinion that this towne was built by a certaine Romaine captaine, who hauing conducted his troupes foorth of Mauritania, conquered all Numidia, and marching westward, built a towne, and called it Sigillummesse, because it stood vpon the borders of Messa, and was as it were the seale of his victories, and afterward by a corrupt worde it began to be called Segelmesse. The common people together with one of our African Cosmographers, called Bicri, suppose that this towne was built by Alexander the great, for the reliefe of his sicke and wounded soldiers. Which opinion seem eth not probable to me: for I coulde neuer read that Alexander the great came into any part of these regions. This towne was situate vpon a plaine neere vnto the riuere of Ziz, and was enuironed with most stately and high wals, euen as in many places it is to be seene at this present. When the Mahumetans came first into Africa, the inhabitants of this towne were subiect vnto the family of Zeneta; which family was at length dispossessed of that authority by king Ioseph the sonne of Tesfin, of the family of Luntuna. The towne it selfe was very gallantely builte, and the inhabitants were rich, and had great traffike vnto the land of Negros. Here stood stately temples and colleges also, and great store of conducts, the water whereof was drawen out of the riuere by wheeles. The aire in this place is most temperate and holesome, sauing that in winter it aboundeth with ouermuch moisture, which breedeth some diseases. But now since the towne was destroied, the inhabitants began to plant themselues in the next castles and villages, as we haue before signifiedL I my selfe

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abode in this region almost seuen moneths at the foresaid castle of Meniun.24

Of the castle of Essuoathila.

This castle was built by the Arabians in a certaine desert place, twelue miles southward of the towne last described; and here they keepe their wares free from the danger of their enemies. Neere vnto this castle there is neither garden nor field, nor any other commoditie, but onely certaine blacke stones and sand.25

Of the castle of Humeledegi.

This castle was built also by the Arabians vpon a desert eightene miles from Segelmesse, like as was the former. Neere vnto it lieth a certaine dry plaine, so replenished with sundrie fruits, that in beholding it a farre off a man would thinke the ground were strewed with pome-citronsY6

Of the castle of Vrnemhesen.

This is a forlorne and base castle, founded by the Arabians
also flue and twenty miles from Segelmesse upon a desert, directly in the way from Segelmesse to Dara. It is enuironed with blacke wals, and continually garded by the Arabians. All merchants that passe by, pay one fourth part of a ducate for euery camels lode. My selfe travelling this way upon a time in the companie of fourteen lewes, and being demaunded how manie there were of vs, we saide thirtene, but after I began particularly to reckon, I founde the fourteenth and the fifteenth man amongst vs, whom the Arabians woulde haue kept prisoners, had we not affirmed them to be Mahumetans : howbeit not crediting our words, they examined them in the lawe of Mahumet, which when they perceiued them indeed to understand, they permitted them to depart. 27

THE SIXTH BOOKE OF THE
Of the village of Tebelbelt.
T His village standing in the Numidian desert, two hundred miles from Atlas, and an hundred southward of Segelmesse, is situate neere vnto three castles, well stored with inhabitants, and abounding with dates. Water and flesh is very scarce amongst them. They use to hunt and take Ostriches, and to eate the flesh of them: and albeit they have a trade vnto the land of Negros, yet are they most miserable and beggerly people, and subject to the Arabians. 28

Of the prouince of Todga.
T His little prouince standing vpon a riuer of the same name, hath great plentie of dates, peaches, grapes, and figs. It containeth fower castles and ten villages, the inhabitants being either husbandmen or lether-dressers. And it standeth westward of Segelmesse about fortie miles. 29

Of the region of Farcala.
T standeth also vpon a riuer, and aboundeth with dates and other frutes, but come is greatly wanting heere. Heere are in this region three castles, and flue villages. It standeth southward of mount Atlas an hundred, and of Segelmesse almost threescore miles. The poore inhabitants are subject to the Arabians. 30

Of the region of Teserin.
THis beautifull region situate vpon a riuer, is distant from Farcala thirtie, and from mount Atlas about threescore miles. Dates it yeeldeth in abundance, and containeth villages to the number of fifteeene, and sixe castles, together with the ruines of two townes, the names whereof I coulde by no meanes enquire. And the worde Teserin in the African language signifieth a towne. 31

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Of the region called Beni Gumi.
T His region adioining vpon the river of Ghir, aboundeth greatly with dates. The inhabitants are poore and miserable, and buie horses at Fez, which they sell afterwarde vnto merchants that trauell to the lande of Negros.
It containeth eight castles, and fifteene villages, and standeth southeast of Segelmesse about an hundred and fiftie miles. Of the castles of Mazalig and A buhinan. They are situate in the Numidian desert vpon the riuer of Ghir, almost fiftie miles from Segelmesse. Inhabited they are by certaine beggerly Arabians: neither doth the soile adiacent yeeld any corne at all, and but very fewe dates.

Of the towne of Chasair. His towne standing vpon the desert of Numidia twentie Tmiles from Atlas, hath mines of lead and antimonie Mines of lead neere vnto it, whereby the inhabitants get their liuuing ; for and antimonie. this place yeeldeth none other commoditie.

Of the region of Beni Besseri. This little region situate at the foote of mount Atlas, and abounding with all kinde of fruits saue dates, will beare no corne at all. It containeth three castles and a certaine iron-mine, which serueth all the prouince of Segelmesse with iron. Villages heere are but fewe, which are subiect partly to the prince of Dubdu, and partly to the Arabians; and all the inhabitants employ themselves about working in the foresaid iron-mine.

Of the castles of Fighig. The three castles of Fighig stand vpon a certaine desert maruellously abounding with dates. The women of this place weaue a kinde of cloth in forme of a carpet, which is so fine, that a man would take it to be silke, and this cloth they sell at an excessiue rate at Fez, Telensin, and other places of Barbary. The inhabitants being men of an excellent wit, do part of them vse traffique to the land of Negros, and the residue become students at Fez: and so soone as they haue attained to the degree of a doctor, they returne to Numidia, where they are made either priestes or senatours, and proue most of them men of great wealth and reputation. From Segelmesse the said castles are distant almost an hundred and fiftie miles eastward.

Of the region of Tesebit. The region of Tesebit being situate vpon the Numidian desert, two hundred and fiftie miles eastward of Segelmesse, and an hundred miles from mount Atlas, hath fower castles within the precincts thereof, and many villages also, which stand vpon the confines of Lybia, neer vnto the high way that leadeth from Fez and Telensin to the kingdome of Agadez and to the land of Negros. The inhabitants are not very rich, for all their wealth consisteth in dates, and some small quantitie of corne. The men of
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this place are black, but the women are somewhat fairer, and yet they are of a swart and browne hue.

Of the region of Tegorarin.
This great and large region of the Numidian desert standing about an hundred and twenty miles eastward of Tesebit, containeth fiftie castles, and aboue an hundred villages, and yeeldeth great plentie of dates. The inhabitants are rich, and haue ordinarie traffique to the land of Negros. Their fields are very apt for corne, and yet by reason of their extreme drouth, they stand in neede of contiuall watering and dunging. They allow vnto strangers houses to dwell in, requiring no money for rent but onely their dung, which they keepe most charily: yea they take it in ill part if any stranger easeth himselfe without the doores. Flesh is very scarce among them: for their soile is so drie, that it will scarce nourish any cattell at all: they keepe a few goates indeede for their milks sake: but the flesh that they eate is of camels, which the Arabians bring vnto their market to sell: they mingle their meate with salt tallow, which is brought in to this region from Fez & Tremizen. There were in times past many rich Iewes in this region, who by the meanes of a certaine Mahumetan preacher, were at length expelled, and a great part of them slaine by the seditious people; and that in the very same yeere when the Iewes were expelled out of Spaine and Sicily. The inhabitants of this region hauing one onely gouernour of their owne nation, are notwithstanding often subiect to ciuill contentions, and yet they do not molest other nations: howbeit they pay certaine tribute vnto the next Arabians.

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Of the region of Mreszab.
This region being situate vpon the Numidian desert, 300. miles eastward from Tegorarin, and 300. miles also from the Mediterranean sea, containeth sixe castles, and many villages, the inhabitants being rich, and vsing traffike to the land of Negros. Likewise the Negro-merchants, together with them of Bugia and Ghir make resort vnto this region. Subiect they are and pay tribute vnto the Arabians.

Of the towne of Techort.
This ancient towne of Techort was built by the Numidians vpon a certaine hill, by the foote whereof runneth a riuer, vpon which riuer standeth a draw-bridge. The wall of this towne was made of free stone and lime, but that part which is next vnto the mountaine hath instead of a wall an impregnable rocke opposite against it: this towne is distant flue hundred miles southward from the Mediterranean sea, and about 360. miles from Tegorarin. Families it containeth to the number of flue and twentie hundred: all the houses are built of sunne-dried brickes, except their temple which is somewhat more stately. Heere dwell great store both of gentlemen and artificers: and because they haue great abundance of dates, and are destitute of come, the merchants of
Constantina exchange corne with them for their dates. All strangers they fauour exceedingly, and friendly dismisse them without paying of ought. They had rather match their daughters vnto strangers, then to their owne citizens: and for a dowry they giue some certaine portion of lande, as it is accustomed in some places of Europe. So great and surpassing is their liberalitie, that they will heape many gifts vpon strangers, albeit they are sure neuer to see them againe. At the first they were subject to the king of Maroco, afterward to

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the king of Telensin, and now to the king of Tunis, vnto whom they pay fiftie thousand ducats for yeerely tribute, vpon condition that the king himselfe come personally to receiue it. The king of Tunis that now is, demanded a seconnd tribute of them. Many castles, and villages, and some territories there be also, which are all subject vnto the prince of this towne : who collecteth an hundred and thirtie thousand ducates of yeerely reuenues, and hath alwaies a mightie garrison of soldiers attending vpon him, vnto whom he alloweth very large paie. The gouernour at this present called Habdulla, is a valiant and liberall yong prince, and most curteous vnto strangers, whereof I my selfe conuersing with him for certaine daies, had good experience.

Of the citie of Guargala.

His ancient citie founded by the Numidians, and enuironed with strong wals vpon the Numidian desert, is built very sumptuously, and aboundeth exceedingly with dates. It hath some castles and a great number of villages belonging thereunto. The inhabitants are rich, bicause they are neere vnto the kingdome of Agadez. Heere are diuers merchants of Tunis and Constantina, which transport wares of Barbaric vnto the lande of Negros. And bicause flesh and corne is very scarce with them, they liue vpon the flesh of Ostriches and camels. They are all of a blacke colour, and haue blacke slaues, and are people of a courteous and liberall disposition, and most friendly and bountifull vnto strangers. A gouernour they haue whom they reuerence as if he were a king: which gouernour hath about two thousand horsemen alwaies attending vpon him, and collecteth almost fiftene thousand ducates for yeerely reuenue.

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Of the prouince of Zeb.

Z Eb a prouince situate also vpon the Numidian desert, beginneth westward from Mesila, northward from the mountaines of Bugia, eastward from the region of dates over against Tunis, and southward it bordereth vpon a certaine desert, ouer which they trauaile from Guargala to Techort. This region is extremely hot, sandie, and destitute both of water and come: which wants are partly supplied by their abundance of dates. It containeth to the number of flue townes and many villages, all which we purpose in order to describe.
Of the towne of Pescara.
T His ancient towne built by the Romans while they were lords of Mauritania, and afterward destroyed by the Mahumetans at their first enterance into Africa; is now reedified, stored with new inhabitants, and environed with faire and stately wals. And albeit the townesmen are not rich, yet are they louers of ciuilitie. Their soile yeeldeth nought but dates. They haue beene gouerned by diuers princes: for they were awhile subiect vnto the kings of Tunis, and that to the death of king Flutmen, after whom succeeded a Mahumetan priest: neither coulde the kings of Tunis euer since that time recouer the Deadly dominion of Pescara. Here are great abundance of scorpions. scorpions, and it is present death to be stung by them: wherefore all the townesmen in a manner depart into the countrey in sommer'time, where they remaine till the moneth of Nouember.44
Of the citie of Borgi.
A Nother towne there is also called Borgi, which standeth Aabout fowerteene miles eastward of Pescara. Heere are a great many of artificers, but more husbandmen. And

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bicause water is very scarce in this region, and yet their fieldes stand in neede of continuall watering, euer'y man may conueigh water in his field by a certaine sluice, for the space of an hower or two, according to the breth or length of his ground; and after one hath done watering his ground, his next neighbour beginneth, which oftentimes breedeth great contention and bloudshed.45
Of the towne of Nefta.
N Efta is the name of the towne it selfe, and also of the territorie adjacent; which territorie containeth three castles, the greatest whereof seemeth by the manner of building to haue beene founded by the Romaines. Inhabitants heere are great store, being very rusticall and vnciuill people. In times past they were exceeding rich, for they dwell neere vnto Lybia, in the very way to the land of Negros: howbeit by reason of their perpetuall hostilitie with the kings of Tunis, the king of Tunis that now is destroied their towne; and themselues he partly slue, and partly put to flight. Likewise he so defaced the wals and other buildings, that now a man woulde esteeme it to be but a base village. Not farre from hence runneth a certaine riuier of hot water, which serueth them both to drinke, and to water their fields withall.46
Of the towne of Teolacha.
T was built by the Numidians, and compassed with slender wals, and hath a riuier of hot water also running thereby. The fields adjacent yeeld plentie of dates, but great scarctie of come. The miserable inhabitants are oppressed with continual exactions, both by the Arabians, and also by the king of Tunis. Yet are they extremely couetous and proud, and disdainfull vnto strangers.47
THE SIXTH BOOKE OF THE
Of the towne of Deusen.

Deusen a very ancient towne, founded by the Romains in the same place where the kingdome of Bugia joyneth to Numidia, was destroyed by the Mahumetans at their first entrance into Africa, because of a certaine Romaine captaine, which endured the Saracens siege for a whole yeere together; the towne being at length taken, this captaine and all the men of the towne were put to the sword, but the women and children were carried away captive. Howbeit after the towne was sacked, the wall thereof remained entire, by reason it was built of most hard stone, and that a woonderfull thickness, though in some places it seemeth to be ruined, which (I thinke) might be caused by an earthquake. Not farre from this towne are diuers monuments of antiquitie like vnto sepulchers, wherein are founde sundrie peeces of siluer coine, adorned with certaine letters and hieroglyphicall figures, the interpretation whereof I could never finde out.

OF the prouince of Biledulgerio.

From the territorie of Pescara this prouince extendeth it selfe vnto the Isle of Gerbi, and one part thereof, in which Cafsa and Teusar are situate, is almost three hundred miles distant from the Mediterran sea. It is an extreme hot and drie place, bringing foorth no core at all, but great plenty of dates, which because they are speciall good, are transported vnto the kingdome of Tunis. Here are diuers townes and cities, which we will describe in their due place.

OF the towne of Teusar.

This ancient towne built by the Romans vpon the Numidian desert, neere vnto a certaine riuer springing foorth of the southren mountaines, was enuironed with most stately & impregnable wals, and had an ample territorie thereunto belonging, but it was since so destroyed by the Mahumetans, that now instead of the woonted sumptuous palaces thereof it containeth nought but base cottages. The inhabitants are exceeding rich both in wares and money, for they haue many faites euerie yeere; whereunto resort great numbers of merchants from Numidia and Barbarie. The foresaid riuer diuideth the towne into two parts, one Whereof being inhabited by the principall gentlemen and burgo-masters, is called Fatnasa: and in the other called Merdes dwell certaine Arabians, which have remained there euer since the towne was destroyed by the Mahumetans. They are at continuall ciuill wars among themselues, and will performe but little obedience to the king of Tunis: for which cause he dealeth alwaies most rigorously with them.

OF the towne of Caphsa.

This ancient towne of Caphsa built also by the Romans, had for certaine yeeres a gouernour of their owne: but afterward being sacked by one Hucba a Captaine of Hutmen Califa, the walles thereof were razed to the
ground; but the castle as yet remaineth, and is of great force; for the wall thereof
being flue and twenty cubits high, and flue cubits thick, is made of excellent
stones, like unto the stones of Vespasians Amphitheatre at Rome. Afterward the
towne-walles were reedified, and were destroyed againe by Mansor, who hauing
slaine the Gouernour of the towne and all the inhabitants, appointed a new
Gouernour ouer the same place. Now this towne is verie populous, all the houses
thereof, except the temple and a few other buildings, being verie deformed and
base, and the streets are paued with blacke stones, like vnto the streets of Naples
and Florence. The poore inhabitants are continually oppressed with the exactions
of the king of 3E2
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Tunis. In the middest of the towne are certaine square, large, and deepe fountaines
walled round about, the water whereof is hot and vnfit to bee drunke, vnlesse it be
set an hower or two a cooling. The ayre of this place is verie vnholesome,
insomuch that the greatest part of the inhabitants are continually sicke of feuers.
People they are of a rude and illiberall disposition, and vnkinde vnto strangers:
wherefore they are had in great contempt by all other Africans. Not far from this
towne are fields abounding with dates, olives, and pome-citrons: and the dates and
olives there are the best in all the whole prouince; here is likewise most excellent
oyle. The inhabitants make themselves shooes of buckes leather.51
Of the castles of Nefzaoa.
T Hree castles there are of this name being well stored
with inhabitants, but verie homely built, and oppressed with the king of Tunis his
continuall exactions. And they are distant from the Mediterran sea, about fiftie
miles.52
O the region of Teorregu.
T His little territory belonging to the kingdome of
Tripolis, & bordering vpon the desert of Barca, containeth three castles of the
same name, which abound greatly with dates, but haue no corne at all. The
inhabitants being farre distant from other townes and cities, lead a most miserable
life.53
Of the territorie of Lasliten.
T lieth vpon the Mediterran sea, and containeth many
villages abounding with dates. The inhabitants
because they dwell so neere the sea, haue great traffique with the people of Sicilie
and Egypt.54
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Of the region of Gademes.
T His large region hauing many castles & villages
therin, standeth southward of the Mediterran sea almost three hundred miles. The
inhabitants being rich in dates and all other kinde of merchandise, and trafficking
into the land of Negros, pay tribute vnto the Arabians; albeit for a certaine time
they were subject vnto the king of Tunis, and the Prince of Tripolis. Come and flesh are maruellous scarce here.55

Of the region of Fezzen.

This ample region containing great store of castles and villages, and being inhabited with rich people, and bordering vpon the kingdome of Agadez, the Libyan desert, and the land of Egypt, is distant from Cairo almost threescore daies iourney: neither is there any village in all that desert besides Augela, which standeth in the bounds of Libya. This region of Fezzen hath a peculiar gouernour within it selfe, who bestoweth the reueneus of the whole region according to his owne discretion, and payeth some tribute vnto the next Arabians. Of corne and flesh heere is great scarcitie, so that they are constrained to eat camels flesh onely.56

A description of the deserts of Libya, and first of Zanhaga.

Auing hitherto described all the regions of Numidia, let vs now proceed vnto the description of Libya; which is diuided into flue parts, as we signified in the beginning of this our discourse. We will therefore begin at the drie and forlorne desert of Zanhaga, which bordereth westward vpon the Ocean sea, and extendeth

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eastward to the salt-pits of Tegaza, northward it abutteth vpon Sus, Haccha, and Dara, regions of Numidia; and southward it stretcheth to the land of Negros, adjoyning it selfe vnto the kingdomes of Gualata and Tombuto. Water is here to be found scarce in an hundred miles trauell, being salt and vnsauorie, and drawen out of deepe wels, especially in the way from Segelmesse to Tombuto. Here are great store of wilde beasts and creeping things, whereof we will make mention in place conuenient. In this region there is a barren desert called Azaoad, wherein neither water nor any habitations are to be found in the space of an hundred miles; beginning from the well of Araoan, which is distant from Tombuto about 150. miles. Here both for lacke of water and extremitie of heat, great numbers of men and beasts daily perish.57

Of the desert inhabited by the people called Zuenziga.

This desert beginneth westward from Tegaza, extending eastward to the desert of Hair which is inhabited by the people called Targa: northward it bordereth vpon the deserts of Segelmesse, Tebelbelt, and Benigorai; and southward vpon the desert of Ghir, which joineth vnto the kingdome of Guber. It is a most barren and comfortlesse place: and yet merchants trauell that way from Telensin to Tombuto: howbeit many are found lying dead vpon the same way in regard of extreme thirst. Within this desert there is included another desert called Gòdgem, where for the space of nine daies iourney not one drop of water is to be found, vnsesse perhaps some raine falleth: wherefore the merchants vse to carry their water vpon camels backes,-

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Of the desert inhabited by the people called Targa. 
T His desert beginneth westward vpon the confines of 
Hair, and extendeth eastward to the desert of Ighidi; northward it bordereth vpon 
the deserts of Tuath, Tegorarin, and Mezab, and is inclosed southward with a 
certaine wildernessse neere vnto the kingdome of Agadez. It is a place much more 
comfortable and pleasant then the two deserts last described; and hath great 
plentie of water, also neere vnto Hair. The ayre is maruellous holesome, and the 
soyle aboundeth with all kinde of herbes. Not farre from Agadez there is found 
great store of Manna, Great store of which the inhabitants gather in certaine little 
vessels, carrying it while it is new unto the market of Agadez: and this Manna 
being mingled with water they esteeme very daintie and pretious drinke. They put 
it also into their pottage, and being so taken, it hath a maruellous force of 
refrigerating or cooling, which is the cause that here are so few diseases, albeit the 
ayre of Tombuto and Agadez be most vnwholesome and corrupt. This desert 
stretcheth from north to south almost 300. miles. 

Of the desert inhabited by the people of Lemta. 
T HE fourth desert beginning at the territorie of Ighidi 
and extending to another which is inhabited by the people called Berdoa, 
bordereth northward vpon the deserts of Techor, Guarghala, and Gademis, and 
southward vpon the kingdome of Cano in the land of Negros. It is exceeding drye, 
and verie dangerous for merchants trauelling to Constantina. For the inhabitants 
challengeth vnto themselues the signiorie of Guargala: wherefore making continuall 
warre against the prince of Guargala, they oftentimes spoile the merchants of all 
their goods: and as many of the people of Guargala as they can catch, they kill 
without all pitie and compassion. 

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Of the desert inhabited by the people called Berdoa. 
T HE fift desert beginning westward from the desert 
last mentioned, and stretching eastward to the 
desert of Augela, adioyneth northward vpon the deserts of Fezzen and Barca, and 
trendeth southward to the desert of Borno. This place is extremely drye also, 
neither haue any but the Gademites, which are in league with the people of 
Berdoa, safe passage through it: for the merchants of Fezzen, so often as they fall 
into their enemies hands, are deprived of all their goods. The residue of the Libyan 
desert, that is to say, from Augela to the riuere of Nilus is inhabited by certaine 
Arabians and Africans commonly called Leuata: and this is the extreme easterly 
part of the deserts of Libya. 

0f the region of Nun. 
T His region bordering vpon the Ocean sea, containeth 
many villages and hamlets, and is inhabited with 
most beggerly people. It standeth betweene Numidia and Libya, but somewhat 
neerer vnto Libya. Here growtheth neither barley nor any other corne. Some dates 
here are, but very vnsauorie. The inhabitants are continually molested by the 
Arabians invasions: and some of them
traffique in the kingdom of Gualata.62
Of the region of Tegaza.
Salt mines. In this region is great store of salt digged, being whiter
than any marble. This salt is taken out of certaine
causes or pits, at the entrance wherof stand their cottages that worke in the salt-
mines. And these workmen are all strangers, who sell the salt which they dig, unto
certaine merchants that Carrie the same vpon camels to the kingdome of Tombuto,
where there would otherwise be extreme scarcitie of salt. Neither haue the said
diggers of salt any

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victuals but such as the merchants bring vnto them: for they are distant from all
inhabited places, almost twentye daies iourney, insomuch that oftentimes they
perish for lacke of foode, whenes the merchants come not in due time vnto them:
Moreover the southeast winde doth so often blind them, that they cannot Hue here
without great perill. I my selfe continued three daies amongst them, all which
time I was constrained to drinke salt-water drawen out of certaine welles not far
from the salt-pits.63
Of the region of Augela.
A Vgela beeing a region of the Libyan desert, and
distant fower hundred and fiftie miles from Nilus, containeth three castles, and
certaine villages. Dates heere are great plentie, but extreme scarcitie of corne,
unlesse it be brought hither by merchants out of Egypt. Through this region lieth
the way by the Libyan desert from Mauritania to Egypt.64
Of the towne of Serte.
SErte an ancient towne built (according to the opinion
of some) by the Egyptians; of others, by the
Romans; and (as some others suppose) by the Africans, was at length destroied by
the Mahumetans, albeit Ibnu Rachich affirmeth the Romans to haue sacked it. But
now there is nought remaining but onely a few ruines of the wall.65
Of the region of Berdeoa.
B Erdeoa a region situate in the midst of the Libyan desert, and standing almost
flue hundred miles from Nilus, containeth three castles and flue or six villages,
abounding with most excellent dates. And the said three castles were discouered
eighteeene yeeres agoe by one Ziamar in manner following: the carouan of

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wandering out of the direct way, had a certaine blinde man in their companie
which was acquainted with all A whole caro- those regions: this blinde guide
riding foremost vpon camell conducted
by a blinde his camell, commanded some sand to be giuen him at guide who lead
them by sent euery miles end, by the smell whereof he declared the onely; as at
this present the situation of the place: but when they were come within Carouans of fortie miles of this region, the blinde man smelling of the Maroco are conducted ouer sand affirmed that they were not farre from some places the Libyan sadthypce deserts to Tom- inhabited; which some beleued not, for they knew that buo.

they were distant from Egypt fower hundred and eightie miles, so that they tooke themselves to be neerer vnto Augela. Howbeit within three daies they found the said three castles, the inhabitants whereof woondering at the approch of strangers, and being greatly astonied, presently shut all their gates, and would give the merchants no water to quench their extreme thirst. But the merchants by maine force entred, and hauing gotten water sufficient, betooke themselues againe to their iournie66

Of the region of Alguechet.

A Lguechet also being a region of the Libyan desert, is tfrom Egypt an hundred and twenty miles distant.

Here are three castles and many villages abounding with dates. The inhabitants are black, vile, and couetous people, and yet exceeding rich: for they dwell in the mid way betweene Egypt and Gaoga. They haue a gouern'our of their owne, notwithstanding they pay tribute vnto the next Arabians.07

Here endeth the sixth booke.

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(r) Gar, "a cavern "-perhaps Gheriah, Garria, or Geria, on the shores of the Greater Syrtes, but the description is too vague for so insignifi cant a place to be accurately identified (Della Cellia, p. 8o). Marmol, who seems to have known it, describes Gar as unfortified, with a ruined wall and tower, and "what some call the Cisterne". It was inhabited by Berbers subject to the Chief of Tajuira (Tachore).

(2) The same remark applies to Gar el-Gare, and though the quarries ought to afford a clue to the locality, it is not mentioned by Marmol, Della Cellia, Barth, the Beecheys, or any other writer known to me. The Gara (or Gaia of Ptolem) is a small islet off Ain Naga, close to the shore of the Greater Syrtes (Syrtes Magna). There are great quarries at the ruins of Ksar Yahilye (which may be " Garellgare ") to the west of Tripoli, and the sanctuary of " El-Gar" in the district of Zenzur is close at hand beside a ruined castle. Caverns are frequent along the coast.

(3) Sarman is described by Marmol as a large open town, wellpeopled by Hoarsa Berbers, who recognised the Tripoli authorities, and who had plenty of dates. It is, in all probability, the modern Aserman, a village scattered among the date palms.

(4) The Zauia, or Sanctuary of Sidi Barhab, near Zenzur, the Zaort or Zauit ben Giarb of Marmol.

(5) Zenzur-a poor place, still in the rich, well-watered district of the same name, which contains four or five thousand people. It is the Gienzor of Marmol.
Hamron of Marmol, an open village in his day. There is a market gardeners' village of this name.

Tajiura, Tajuia, Tadschura, the Tachore of Marmol, Taguira of Della Cella and the Beecheys; a series of scattered villages, surrounded by gardens, date palms and olive groves; the people are occupied in agriculture or market gardening, and in making coarse barracans (the representation of the Morocco jellaba), and mats of the date palm leaves.

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(8) Mecellat of Marmol, the great Plain of Mesellata, still well populated and prosperous, and celebrated for the industry of its people. The Castle of Mesellata at the northern end of the village of Kasabat ("the castle") was probably erected by the Spaniards, at the end of the sixteenth century.-Barth, Travels, etc., vol. i, p. 77.

(9) Mesurata, Msarata, Mezrata, a large plain covered with olives and date palms, the chief town of which is called Mesurata, about a mile from the extremity of Cape Mesurata. It occupies the site of the ancient Thubactis municipium. The Mezurateens, who live in small detached houses, are mostly agriculturists. But they also manufacture carpets, and send caravans to Fezzan and the Sudan. They have played a warlike part in the turmoils of Tripoli.

(10) Barca still bears the name which the Arab invaders adopted from the Romans, who are said to have taken it, in turn, from an ancient city called "Barce", which was built by Battus, son of Arcesilas, King of Egypt, and afterwards destroyed by Amasis.-Herodotus, lib. iv; Strabo, lib. xvii; Ptolemy, lib. iv, c. 4; Pomfionius Mela, lib. i, c. 8. The promontory of Barca, and the modern El-Mergi or El-Medina, recalls the ancient Barca and its port of Ptolemais, the modern Tolemeta. This district was the Greek Cyrenaica and the country Pentapolis—"the Land of the Five Cities. But Leo is too liberal in comprising under Barca all the country between Mesurata and Egypt, and in stating, as the natives still do, that the "Desert of Barca", was uninhabited until the Arabs came to Africa. In reality, here were flourishing Greek and Roman colonies, with cities to whose former splendour their ruins attest, and a soil rivalling that of Egypt in fertility. Much of it is sandy, and tracts once cultivated are now permitted, either from lack of irrigation or the desert encroachment, to return to barrenness. But the Barca promontory, instead of being "a sandy or rocky waste, with a few rare oases", is described by Sir Lambert Playfair as consisting "of a succession of wooded hills and smiling prairies, well watered by rain and perennial springs: the climate is healthy and cool even during the summer months, and the moist sea breezes blowing over it protect the country from the devastating wind of the desert". Leo, no doubt, describes Serte as an ancient city, the builders of which some believed to be the Egyptians and others the Romans, from which (inter alia) it is clear he had not seen the place in question; otherwise with his Italian experience he would at once have seen that the Egyptians could have had nothing to do with the sculptures then more in evidence than now. He also grossly exaggerates the length and breadth of the region he takes to be Barca. It is from this erroneous
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Barca" has been derived. Yet had Herodotus been accepted as an authority, it would be seen that he describes the region as not only not barren throughout, but in places remarkable for its fertility. The Beecheys indeed characterise the present inhabitants as a healthy, good-looking race, though, as their treatment of Rohlfs' expedition proved, still as treacherous and predatory as Leo described.-Roblfs, *Reise von Tripoli nach Alexandrien* (87) ; Borsari, *Geog. etnol e Storica della Trihilitana, Cyrenaica e Fezzan*, pp. 159 et seq.; Beechey, *Report, etc.*, p. 266.

(II) There is some slip of the pen here, for Pory rightly marks the passage. Sus (p. 248) and Guzula (p. 281) have already been described in Morocco. Capes (Gubes, p. 225) is in Tunis, but "Helchemna" (Elchemma) is not so clear: it is not mentioned under that name in any other part of Leo's narrative.

(12) Tesserit, Tenzert, or Tichert. Perhaps Tizzert and Tizzut are different places.

(13) For "Elmath", see Edrisi (ed. Hartmann), p. 13o. The addux antelope is, in the language of the Northern Tuaregs, elmehd.-Duveyrier, *Les Touaregs du Nord*, p. 225. Marmol describes Guaden as a large open village, which he visited with the Shereef Mohammed. The people of it trafficked with the Portuguese at Arguin, a statement a little difficult to credit, unless the village lay much farther south than Leo puts it. The place, if not Wadan (Ouadan), a short journey from Arguin, may be Wad Nun-Renou, *F1P1. Scientifique de l'Algérie*, t. ii, p. 281.

(14) Also called Oftran, Oftran, Offeran, and under these names known to the Morocco traders. Marmol calls it Ufaran. The inhabitants traded in Leo's day with Agadir or Cortessem (p. 253) the Carguesse of Marmol. Cochelet enumerates 150 houses, the population being half Jewish.-Naufrage du brick français La Sophie perdu le 30 mai 1819, sur la côte occidentale d'Afrique, etc., t. ii, p. 331.


(16) Dra, Drah, Draa. In summer this river is almost dry, and the Debaia, an expansion on its upper course, which has been described as a "great lake", becomes a Sebka or marsh. Indeed, it is filled with water for only a short period of the year, and at times can be cultivated for quick-growing crops.

(17) The Beni Sbih, an important place in the district of Ktauau visited by Rohlfs. Ktauau is evidently Marmol's Quiteoa, while Tanzetta is his Tinzeda. He also mentions Taragale, Tinzulin (Rohlfs' 805

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Tunsulin), Tamegrut, Tabernost (perhaps Tabernouste), Afra, and Timesquit (probably Rohlfs' Mesgeta, or Mezzquitta, or Tineskit, the Berber name for a mosque). Mouette's Lafera, a cavernous mountain in the vicinity of Zaimby, called by Marmol Taragale, or Taragalelt, or Taregg–let, is the Jebel Sagora.-Rohlfs, Mein Erster Aufenthalt in Marokko (Dritte Ausgabe), p. 440; De Castries,
"Notice sur la rdgion de l'oued Dra.," Bull. de Soc. Glog. Paris, December 1880, P. 497(18) Sigilmdsiyah, Segelmesa, Sigilmassa, Sugulmesse, Sedschelmesa, has been always reckoned as practically synonymous with Tafilet, as indeed it is, the place being spoken of long after it was destroyed and its successor established in its stead. But, in reality, though the area of the modern kingdom of Tafilet-the cradle of the present dynasty of Morocco-is nearly coterminal with that of Segelmessa, the two towns are quite distinct, as are also the past and the present divisions of the country. The history of the town of Segelmessa is much the same as that of the country. It was founded, according to El-Bekri, not by the Romans, but in A.H. 140 (A.D. 757), at the period when the Khalifs of Cordova declared themselves independent of the Khalifs of the East, and caused the ruin of the towns of Terra (Berah) and Ziz. After being successively under the rule of Yussuf Ben Tashfin and Abd el-Mumen, the civil wars during the reign of the Beni-Marini ended in the ruin of the city, the inhabitants retreating into detached Kusfir (plural of Ksar), which they erected in different oases. These really constitute the modern Tafilet. Yet long after the place had lost all its former importance and had even ceased to exist, Arab- and European writers copying them, spoke of Segelmessa as only another name for Tafilet. Leo does so, and Marmol, after copying all that Leo says about Tafilet, adds that it is an ancient Berber town, built on a sandy plain, and of some commercial importance. Walckenaer (Recherches, p. 285), D'Avezac (Etudes, p. 162), and Cooley (Negroland, p. 5) actually contended that the two names were really those of the same city. Graberg de Hems6 (Sfiecho, pp. 63, 64), a most uncritical writer, was in this case more accurate. But as late as A.H. 1218 (A.D. 1803) Abu-l-K.sim ben Ahmed EzziAni refers to an army under Dahman Essoueda, Amil of the Sahara, marching to Segelmessa. Mr.- Harris describes the Tafilet ksars as large and strongly fortified, and possessing each one a gate at which the stranger is keenly scrutinised by the "boab", or doorkeeper. The ruins of Segelmessa are in the district of Wad Ifli, and bear evidence to the city having been a large one. Nothing now remains of its former greatness but crumbling walls, a mosque and minaret in tolerable repair, and a broken-down bridge over the Wad Ziz. "Tabia" seems to have been chiefly used in its construction.806

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and there are few traces of stone buildings. The very name of the town seems to have disappeared with its greatness; for, though the fame of "Segelmessa" is remembered, its ruins are known as Medinat ul-'Amira-" the Royal City". The canal made to carry the water supply from the deep river-bed to the town is of such unusually good workmanship that the water still flows fast and clear between its well-formed banks, and several little bridges in good repair cross the ditch. Yet Segelmessa in its lowly condition is still revered for what it was; and twice a year, on the 'Id el-Kebir and the 'Id es-Saghfr, the two great Moslem feasts, a large concourse of people meet to pray at the Musalla, or "place of prayer" near the old mosque, which has been a silent witness of so many unwritten events in the lurid history of Morocco. Major Raverty tells us that it is mentioned, among other
Arabic documents, in the Maslik wa Mamdlik, and about A.D. 950 Ibn Haukal (Oriental Geog., p. 17) refers to it as distant nearly fifty "merhalah" (or days' journey) from Kairwan. Edrisi mentions 'Segelmesa', under which name it is also referred to by Ibn el-Wardi. Abu-l-feda, on the authority of Ibn Said, describes "Sedgelmasah" (Solvet's ed., p. 67; Reinaud's ed., t. ii, p. 189) as the capital of a considerable province watered by a river bordered with gardens. It had eight gates, and by whichever of them the traveller passed out he saw the river, date palms, and other trees. A wall of forty miles in circumference surrounded city and gardens alike. The Obaidian Ismailian, or Fatimite dynasty of Egypt rose to power here (A.D. 909, A.H. 296) in the person of Obaid Allah al-Mahdi, who on the 8th of Rabi' ul-Awwal, A.H. 297 (November, A.D. 910), was proclaimed Khalifa. It is not until early in the sixteenth century that Tafilet is generally spoken of by the Moorish historians. In 1530 the Shereefs Ahmed and Mohammed occupied Tafilet and left a garrison there.

Tafilet, Tafil-It, or Tafil-dt is, however, a comparatively modern name, and is said, according to a local legend, to be derived from a Shereef who settled here, or at Faja, and taught the Berbers to fertilise the dates which had hitherto produced little fruit—a circumstance which gave the Shereefs a monopoly of date-planting. In memory of this public benefactor, Faja, even then a considerable place, was named Filhl, after his birthplace in Arabia, and by Berber orthography it became Fafilet and its inhabitants Fil-i or Fild elFilAli, as they are called in Algeria. The present Imperial dynasty is the FilAli, its founder having been a Shereef of this still favourite retreat of his descendants. This legend is perhaps substantially correct, except in ascribing to the Fil-i Shereef the fecundation of dates: for, though he might have introduced some improvement in the cultivation of a fruit which is now the almost sole wealth of the oases, and is sent for the most part to England, he could not have quite done 807

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what the exaggeration of ages attributes to him, since in the neighbouring countries, well known to the Berbers of this region, the Romans grew dates exactly as their successors do at this moment.-Renou, Exploration Scientifique de Palgdrie, t. viii, p. 129; and in addition to Mr. Harris's paper (Geog. Journal, April 1895, vol. v, pp. 317-336); Delbrel, "Notes sur le Tafilet"; Bull. Soc. Giog. Paris, t. xv (1894), pp. 109-227 (with caution); De Castries, Bull. Soc. Giog. Paris, April 1867, p. 337; Rohls, Reise durch Marokko, etc. (Vierte Ausgabe), pp. 6o, et seq.; Caillifé, Travels through Central Africa, etc. (Eng. Trans.), vol. ii, pp. 174, et seq.; "On the Vicissitudes of Segelmessa", Notices et Extraits, t. xii, pp. 600, et seq.; and Raverty, Geog. journal, vol. vi (August 1895), P. 189. Major Raverty's letter contains a valuable series of notes on "Sigilmasiyah". But it quotes Leo incorrectly in saying that he refers to "Tafilat" as famous for dates. Leo does not mention the name.
(19) In Leo's day, the province of Segelmessa extended from GherSeluin for nearly 120 miles, according to the boundaries he indicates.
This is a defile "40 miles" long (according to Leo's overestimate) between Tamrakescht (Tamaracrost, Tamaroc of Caillié) and Ksar es-Suk, called Kheneg, a name applied to several cationlike glens in Southern Morocco. The one under consideration is noticed by the "Imam el-'Aiachi" in his journey made in A.D. 1662-63 (Exal. Scientifique de l'Algérie, vol. ix, p. 6). It is also mentioned in the native itineraries printed by D'Avezac, Etudes de Giog. critique sur une Partie de 'Afrique Selft., p. i6o.

(21) Medrara, Metrara, Mdaara, Mdaghra, or Medgharah (Itinéry of Ahmed el-Melsyuni ; D'Avezac, Etudes de Giog. critique, etc., p. 6o), a well-known oasis with about forty ksars.-De Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc, pp. 227, 233, etc.

(22) Reteb, Reseb, or Ertib. It is noticed under that name by El-'Aiachi (lib. cit., p. 9) as early as 1662, and in D'Avezac's native itineraries (Etudes de Giog. critique, p. i6o). Marmol calls it Retel, or Arratane, and remarks that it was inhabited by the "Antgariz" Berbers, who spoke a corrupt dialect of the Berber language.

(23) In the Tafilet country "castles" or ksars-that is, fortified villages—are very numerous, as noticed by El-'Aiachi more than two centuries ago—that voyager, however, still describing the country as Segelmessea (Exhl Scient. de l'Algérie, t. ix, pp. xxxi, 9, 1o). Tenegent (Teneguent), Tebru'acant (Tebuhasan of Leo, Tebuşant of Marmol), and Mimum, misprinted " Meniun", ut infra (Ksar elM.mun), are all known from native itineraries or by actual observation.

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M. Delbrel describes the ksars and dwellings of Tafilet as all "built by earth mixed with dung "-a kind of " tabia" or concrete.

(24) There is no proof that the Romans had anything to do with Segelmessea. But in quoting El-Bekri (" Becri ") for the first time Leo is incorrect, as that historian puts its foundation in A.D. 757"The common people" who are fond of attributing works to the "Two-Horned Isckander" (Alexander), may, however, have entertained the absurdity mentioned ; see note 18.

(25) This is, perhaps, "Zuaïhila"; but it is not now known to be in existence. It is the Suahyla of Marmol (L'Afrique, t. iii, p. 22), who describes it as close to the River Ziz, which forms a large lake in the Sahara sands. This "sebka" forms at times (under the name of Daia et Daura), but is not constant.

(26) (H)umeleddgr is not now known to be in existence.

(27) Umelhefet, as the name probably was, is not known t'o any traveller, or to any visitor whom I have had an opportunity of questioning. Marmol, who calls it Vmelhefel, and repeats Leo's description, mentions that it was garrisoned by the Shereef's people, who levied a quarter of an escu (crown) for every camel, and from the Jews who visited the place the same taxes as they were accustomed to pay when the Ksar was under an Arab Sheikh. This is, however, a mere variation of Leo's account.

(28) Tebelbelt is mentioned in the Itinerary of Mohammed, a Shereef of Feda, as three days' journey from that place, and one from Tidelkelt, the principal place in the Tuat oasis. Caillié also notes "Tabelbat" as six days' journey east of Mimsina
(Journal d'un Voyage, etc., t. iii, p. 54).—Renou, Exil. Scientifique 1e l'Algérie, t. viii, p. 142.

(29) Todgha, or Todga district, and the Wad Todgha, or Todra (as De Foucauld spells it), are both well known.—Reconnaissance au Maroc, p. 223, etc. Mr. Harris visited the locality in 1893.—Geog. Journal, vol. v, pp. 327, 328.

(30) The modern Ferlka, on the Wad Todgha (Map I6 of De Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc, pp. 223, 224, 356, etc.).

(31) Tazarin, on a tributary of the Draa. The district is an oasis, larger and better peopled than Todgha. Its ksars are inhabited by Shella Berbers. There are no Jews in the district, but a ruined Mellah at Ait Abbariul is a proof of their former residence. (De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, etc., p. 364.) It is the Tezerin of Marmol, who adds that here were the ruins of two towns destroyed by the first 3F 809.

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Arab hordes who entered Africa: but their name was not known. This, too, is a mere variation on Leo's account. Tezzerin is not an uncommon name in Barbary.

(32) Beni Gumi, according to Marmol, had eight ksars and fifteen open villages, the inhabitants of which were poor and sought employment in Fez, where they filled the humblest offices. No locality bearing that name is known in the vicinity of the Wad Gir; and it is scarcely permissible to accept Quatremère's suggestion that the "TenhhayAmyn" of El-Bekri (Notices et extraits, etc., p. 173) is really "Bendjamina", which by another corruption became Beni Gumi. Besides, the one name is as little known as the other at the present day. Marmol makes the blunder of putting the distance of the Beni Guini as 50 leagues, instead of 150 miles, to the south-east of Segelmesa.

(33) These ksars cannot be satisfactorily identified, and, like many similar wasps'-nests in this region, may very probably have been destroyed since Leo's day. The Uled Bu Anan country is on the upper Ghir in the vicinity of El-Bahariat.

(34) Perhaps Ksar, the castle or fortified place (?) The presence of antimony and lead mines ought to help us to identify the locality. Antimony (kohl) is commonly sold in Fez, and is described as being brought from beyond the Atlas. But the exact spot, either through ignorance, or quite as likely unwillingness to impart information, could never be ascertained by me.

(35) The situation of Beni-Besseri is still very uncertain, in spite of its iron mine.

(36) Guachde or Gualde of Marmol cannot now be identified.

(37) The oasis of Figig, or Figiug, is well known; it is likely to figure extensively in the political complications of the future as a point whence a force could advance from Algeria upon Fez. Perrot, Bull. de Soc. Géog. Paris (October, 1881), p. 273, and map; Ibid., January, 1872; Castries, Ibid., 1882, 2e trimestre, p. 401 (with maps).

(38) Tesebit, Tesevin of Marmol, is the Teqabet of El-'Aiachi.

(39) "Tegorarin" (Tigurarin) is in El-Aiachi's Itinerary written Tedjourarin. TegorArin is the ancient Berber name of Gurira, a well-known town and district.-

Deporter, Extreme Sud de PAlgWrie (1890), p. 105.

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In A.H. 989 (A.D. 1581-82), though De Slane translating the same passage makes the event to have happened in A.H. 998 (A.D. 1588-89). Abu-l-Abbs Ahmed el-Mansur (Ahmed Sherif) sent an army under the Kaids Ahmed ben Barka (Bereka) and Ahmed ben El-HaddAd El-Ghamri El-MaAkili to subdue TiguarArin and Juat.-De Slane, "Conquete du Soudan par les Marocains en l'an 998 (1588-89 de J.C.)"; Revue Africaine, No24, t. i, p. 288 ; EloufriAni, Nozhet Elhddi, pp. 154, 155, 173.

(40) The M'zab country consists of five oases, and contains about 40,000 people, owning 200,000 date palms. In 1882 the country was annexed to Algeria. Guralra or Guerara, a prosperous -almost luxurious-Saharan town, is included in the M'zab (note 39).-Tristram, The Great Sahara, p. 195.

(41) Tuggurt, a prosperous town, built for the most part of sundried bricks, still bears traces of its former connection with Tunis. It is now part of Algeria, but of the population of 8,000 very few are Europeans. Tuggurt (Tougourt, Tekkert, Ticart, Ticurti, Techor, Tacort, Teggourt, Ticarte, Tuggart), the capital of the Wad Rir, was formerly under the family of Yussef Ibn Obeid Allah, and until lately under that of the Beni-JellAb, who were related to the Beni-Marini. In A.D. 1341-42, Mohammed Ibn Hakim, the Beni Hafs general, after putting Biskra under tribute, sacked and, it is believed, destroyed Tuggurt, the site of which was more than a mile from the present town. Hado tells us that in 1552 Salah Reis of Algiers took "Ticart", plundered it, and sold 12,000 of the inhabitants into slavery. Two hundred years later (1789) Sallah, Bey of Constantine, after a six months' siege, only spared it from destruction on Sheikh Ferrat's payment of a heavy ransom. In 1821, the Tuggurt people, not paying their tribute regularly, were besieged by Ahmed el-Mameluk, Bey of Constantine, who was, however, repulsed. After the capture of Biskra in 1844, Tuggurt recognised the French authority, and, with the exception of revolts in 1854 and 1870, "the belly of the desert" has since then remained sulkily faithful to the masters of Algeria.-Piesse, Algirie, p. 322 ; Tristram, The Great Sahara, p. 268, et seq.; Duveyrier, Comfies rendus de la Soc. Gdogo Paris (1886), No. I, p. 26. The Kasba is built of dressed stone, which is by some antiquaries taken as a proof of its Roman origin, in fact of its being the Turaphylum of Ptolemy; but there is no evidence for this theory. Leo-probably following the Arab maxim that in the Sahara "he who is not reaped by the sword sees days without end"-says nothing about the marshes and salt lakes near Tuggurt, which in April give rise to a most malignant fever.

(42) Wargla (Ouargla), Guerguela and Guerguelen (Marmol), Huerguela (Hatdo), Ou rkel .n (Edrisi), Vareklan (Hartmann), OuArI F2

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quelan (El-Bekri), Wurglah (Shaw), Wargalah (Shales), Wurgelah (Hodgson),
Guargala or Huerguela (Gramaye, according as he copies Leo or Ha−do),
Ouergelah (D’Avezac, Etudes de Glog. Critique, p. 27). This is an old town; its
citizens, indeed, declare it to be the oldest in the Sahara. Ibn Khaldoun mentions
that Ibn Yezid, the Nekanti, took refuge here in A.H. 325 (A.D. 957), and in A.D.
1372 the rebellious Abu Zeiyan made a stand in Wargla. Abu Zekeria, of the
Beni-Hafsi, was amazed at the prosperity of the town, and reared in it a mosque
which bears the name of its founder, and which, when El-Alachi visited the town
in A.D. 1663, was the most notable object in it. Many M’zab inhabit the city, but
none are found in the Beni-Braham quarter, all those who lived there having been
massacred in one night (1652).—Colomieu, Tour du Monde (1863), pp. 161-208;
Demaeght, Bull. Soc. Gdog. Oran, vol. i, p. 82; Rolland, Revue Scientifique,
January 6th, 1883, etc.

(43) Zab, or Zib .n, a number of oases, consisting in Ibn KhaldOUN's day of Zab
Sherghi, Zab Gebli, and Zab Dahr.wifin, respectively on the East, South, and
t. v, pp. 316-19; Rasch, Nach den Oasen von Seban in der grossen Wiiste Sahara
(1866); Piesse, "Voyage aux Zibans", Bull. Trim. de Gdog. Oran (1885), pp. 66-
78.
Ziban is pl. of Zab, from the Roman Savus, the Wad Jedi, "the river of the Kid"
of Shaw, flowing from W. to E. from El-Aghut towards Biskra (Playfair, Bib. of
Algeria, No. 4391). Zab was the Zebe or Zabe of the ancients, once a part of
Mauritania Sitifensis (Procopius, De Bello Vandalico, lib. xi, c. 20).

(44) Biskra, Biscara of Shaw, Biskra en-Nokkel (Biskra among the Palms) of the
Arabs, a well-known oasis, becoming rapidly a favourite watering-place. Biskra
was the Ad Piscinam of the Romans. In Ibn Khaldoun's day it was the capital of
the Zab, and El-Bekri describes it as rich in dates and olives, surrounded by
a'wall and ditch, and containing many mosques and baths. Ibn Said, according to
the information communicated to Abu-l-feda, mentions its trade in dates with
Tunis and Bougie. Edrisi also takes note of it as a central spot, from and to which
he reckons the distances of other places. Scorpions and other venomous animals
are by no means unknown in the oases, but are not so troublesome as in Leo's day;
and the "Biskris" are celebrated as snake-charmers, though most of the performers
come from El-Faid and Chegga to the south.

(45) Borgi, or Bourg of the "Carte des Rdgences d'Alger et de Tun is", attached to
Macarthy's French translation of Shaw (Voyage dans la Rdgence d'Alger, etc.,
1830).

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(46) Nefta, an oasis town of Tunis, with 9,000 inhabitants, occupied in the growth
of splendid dates, oranges, figs, and other fruits, and the weaving of wool into
gauzy "sefsars", etc. An ancient city which preceded Nefta, but is now buried
under the sands, may be the Aggar Selnepte, or Aggarsel-Nepte of the Peutinger
Table, mentioned as the Episcopus N epititanus, or Neptensis. Nefta is sometimes
called Mersat es-SahAra (the Desert Port), and a Kadi of Jerid declared to M.
Tissot in 1853 that towards the close of the last century the remains of a ship had
been found at Ghaltcin esh-ShurafA, the spot which tradition assigns for the port
of Nefta on the Shatt el-Jerid. The barrage of the Wad Nefta is built of Roman
hewn blocks of stone. Temple regarded Nefta as the Negea of Ptolemy.-Temple,
Excursions, etc., vol. ii, pp. 172, 173; Tissot, La Province Romaine, t. ii, 685, 686
; Piesse, Algrie et Tuniesie, p. 448.
(47) This place is mentioned by Edrisi (Dozy and de Goeje's edition, p. 124) as
Louhaca; by Ibn Haukal as Litfiha, or LAfija, and by El-Bekri as T filka. But the
difference is not great in reality, for the letter t, by which the name is begun by
El-Bekri and Leo, is doubtless the Berber article. It is the Tulgah of Shaw, and
the Taolgha of D'Avezac, who cites "Thoulqah" as El-Bekri's orthography.-
Etudes de Gdog. Critique, etc., p. 74.
(48) Dousan of Shaw.
(49) Biledulgerio is a misprint for Biledulgerid, which, again, is a rude spelling of
BilAd el-Jerid-the Dry Country.
(50) Tozer, a Tunisian oasis town embosomed in date-palms, which form the
chief source of the wealth of the 7,000 inhabitants. It occupies the site of
Ptolemy's Tisurus (Tiaoupo;), the Thusurus of the Peutinger Table. In El-Bekri's
day it was a fine town, with many mosques, bazaars, strong walls, and several
gates. In one quarter Roman remains are often found. Wells, a basilica with
several rows of columns, the base of a minaret, etc., are among the most
prominent remnants of antiquity in a town which Shaw (who never saw it)
declared would dissolve and drop to pieces were it subjected to a tolerably heavy
shower of rain (see Introduction). This is, however, an exaggeration; for though
mud hovels are plentiful, the town contains some really substantial and even
handsome houses.-Temple, Excursions, etc., vol. ii, p. 272.
(51) Kafsa, Gafsa, the Capsa in which Jugurtha took refuge, and out of the
materials of which ancient town the modern one is largely built. "Built of clay . . .
no antiquities" was about all that Bruce found to say about this town, which lies
near the Wad Balach. But since then some inscriptions have been found, and from
Leo's description it would seem that in his day the Roman pavement was in
existence. But nothing now remains of the marble porticos described by El-Bekri
(Descripttton de l'Afrique, p. I13). The bad character which Leo attributes to the
citizens is taken from a libellous rhyming proverb of the Bil,.d el-Jerid : " Kafsa is
miserable-its inhabitants are weary-its water blood-its air poison-you stay there a
hundred years without making a friend." The place must, however, have always
been of strategic importance, and from its position commercially advantageous.
Taken by El-Mansur in the war which he carried on against Ishak el-Mayorki, it
was dismantled after having arisen from the ruin which had more than once
previously - notably when Marius wreaked his vengeance-overtaken it. The
walls, then
levelled, have not been rebuilt, but its citadel, one of the most curious specimens
of ancient Arab architecture, still remains.-Tissot, La Province Romaine, t. ii, pp.
(52) A group of little oases—Nefzīwa.

(53) Teggery of Lyon (Travels in North Africa, p. 239), the most southern town in Fezzan, is the Tegerri of Barth (Travels, etc., vol. v, p. 442); a poor place, scarcely more than a village.

(54) Yaslite of Marmol. As early as the seventh century the Ben Isliten were a Nefzgwa tribe of Berbers, who had their home in the eastern part of Barbary. The Beni Isliten were also a division of the Ursettif, a great family of western Berbers. Many tribes mentioned by Ibn Khaldoun are now entirely extinct, or have coalesced with others. The lasliten of Leo were likely the first mentioned, and lay west of the Nefzīwa country already mentioned.

(55) Ghadames (the Cydamus of Pliny, according to an identification of D'Anville and Mannert) is still a great place of trade. Merchants from Timbuktu and Tuat meet here, and inhabitants of the town may be found at these places and at Kano, Katsena, and other centres in the Sudan.

(56) Fezzan, the ancient Phazania or country of the Garamantes, now a Kdimakdmlīk of the Vilayet of Tripoli, but, at the time Leo wrote, it was an independent state under the dynasty of Uled Mohammed. The last of the Uled Mohammed Sultans was killed in 1811 by ElMukkeni, a lieutenant of Yussuf Pasha, the last sovereign of the KaramAnli dynasty of Tripoli. After being for twenty years under El-Mukkeni, Abd el-Jelil usurped the throne and kept the country in a ferment, until Bakir Bey of Tripoli defeated and slew him, and annexed Fezzan to the Ottoman empire. Muzuek is the present capital of the Kdimakdmlīk. There is little trade, though until recently many slaves passed through the country to be surreptitiously sold in Tripoli and Tunis, and to reach Egypt through Augila (Augela). Indeed, only lately there were reports of slaves having come by way of Fezzan to Bengazi. Dates form the staple food; camels are commonly eaten in this region, though too valuable to be utilised as an article of diet, if cheaper supplies can be obtained.

(57) Gualata is WalAta, the position of which puzzled the geographers of eighty or ninety years ago. The Desert of Zanhaga is the country of the Zenega or Zanzaga of some early native itineraries. The desert, which Leo thus divides up after his usual plan of geographical nomenclature by the tribes inhabiting it, is, of course, the Sahara; though, unlike some of his successors, he was well aware that it was not all sand nor even all desert. All he could have intended to indicate by the "Desert of Zanhaga" was that the section of Berbers so-called extended at the time he wrote over the region of which the bounds were noted.-Renou, Exfil. Scientifique de l'Algdrie, t. ii, pp. 291, 292; Barth, Travels, etc., vol. iv, pp. 591-594, v, 486.

(58) Gogadem appears in Edrisi (ed. Jaubert, p. 260) as (ocaden in the Gerewah or Upper Nile. Mr. Cooley considers that the desert and town may have derived their
name from Goghedem in the Atlas. In reality, the desert described by Leo seems to be the well-known drifting sands of Igidi, lying in the caravan route from Morocco to Timbuktu. The desert of Ghir may be Ibn Batuta's Kahir; in any case, it is no doubt the desert country south of the Gir river. Guber is, as we shall see in Book vii, G6ber.

(59) Targa, the now familiar Tuaregs or Tuariks, the roaming "pirates of the desert", a Berber race. Targa is the name of their country, Targli of the inhabitants-fem., Targiyya. TuAreg is the plural of Targl. So Leo Africanus speaks of these tribes of the desert as "Targha Popolo"—Richardson. Travels in the Great Sahara Desert, vol. ii, p. 139. Richardson—who, however, spoke of Agades simply from hearsay—rightly characterises Leo's account of this part of Africa as extremely meagre and unsatisfactory. No mention is made of the TuAregs of Ghat, and "the story about the abundance of manna gathered in the districts of Aheer seems to have been inserted to please the Christian doctors of Rome; at any rate, nothing of the kind is now seen or known at Aghadez. But with respect to foreigners who visit Aheer and Aghadez enjoying good health, I have no doubt the renegade is correct, for I have not heard of either of these places being unhealthy; their salubrity arising, we may imagine, from the elevation at which they are placed" (Ibid., vol. ii, p. 146). Leo's description may nevertheless be approximately correct, the desert whirlwinds not unfrequently strewing portions of Central Africa with lichen torn from the mountains; and it has been suggested that these constitute the manna which is described as falling in the desert of the Exodus. The min which exudes from the tamarisk of the Sinai Peninsula, and has generally been accepted as the manna of the Exodus, is still an article of commerce. "Fura", or "Ghusub", water drunk or supped, may be the "daintie and pretious drinke" described (Barth., Travels, etc., vol. i, p. 414). But it is not made with manna, but by water being poured on Ghusub grain, after the grain—a species of millet (Panicum miliaceum)—has been parboiled or otherwise prepared. A milky substance oozes from the kernels, and makes a very pleasant beverage, greatly esteemed for its cooling quality in summer. Sometimes a few dates are pounded with the ghusub. Gusub (Gue~ob) is, however, a sort of generic name applied by the Arabs to several plants. "Tuath" is Tuat, the oasis of that name.—Duveyrier, Les Touareg du Nord, p. 207.

(60) The Lemta were in the middle ages a very powerful Berber race, and from them sprung the Lemtuna tribe, who gained for the Almoravides the throne of Morocco and much of the rest of North Africa. The Lemta occupied originally the western part of the Sahara contiguous to the Atlantic, their country extending from Morocco to the Niger. Splitting into a number of tribes, the area of the section bearing their name seems to have shrunk in Leo's days, though it was still very large.—Carette, Exfil. Scientifique de l'Alg rie, t. iii, chap. v.

(61) Berdoa is generally regarded (as D'Anville and 'Delisle suggested) as the same as Burgu or Burku; as such it appears on Rennell's map attached to Horniman's Journal of Travels from Cairo to Mourzouk (I802), p. 158. In reality,
it is a little further east near the Libyan desert, though the Berdoa (Bardpa, Birdeva, Berdeva) divide with the Touareg the distinction of being the nomads of the great African desert. They are of the Tibbu stock, or, as they call themselves, Ted-i, of which they are the most easterly branch.-Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, vol. ii, pp. 187-191.

(62) The Wad Nun country on the Atlantic, Leo having a habit of jumping about rather suddenly in the region which he is describing. Guaden we have tentatively identified as the town of Wad Nun.

(63) Tegazza or Tegh-za. Rennell suggested that it might be Tishit, where there are salt mines. TeghAza is described by El-Bekri (Not. et Ext., p. 436) as being two days from the Great Desert, over which passes the road from Ghnah, and twenty from Segelmessa. Though there are many "salines" in

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that country, Cooley considers that Ghaza (at which the Morabite general, Abu Bekr ben Omar, purchased negro slaves, whom he sent to Spain in exchange for European slaves to recruit his army), was merely Tegh-za, mutilated by the Spanish writers (Conde, Historia de la dominacion de los Arabes en Espana, etc., vol. ii, p. 86). When Ibn Batuta visited it in A.H. 753 (A.D. 1352) he found it a poor place, with no culture and few resources. The houses and mosque were built of blocks of salt-stone and roofed with camels' skins. There was no cultivation around the town; all was sand, in which lay the salt mine (Ibn Batuta, ed. Defermery et Sanguinette, t. iv, p. 377). It is generally accepted that the wells called by Caillié (Journal d'un Voyage, etc., t. ii, p. 417) Trarzas, or Trasas, mark the site of TeghAza, though Cooley, with characteristic love of contradiction, inclines to think that they owe the name to the tribe which dug them. In all this region, on the caravan road through the desert to Morocco, there are many ruined towns, deserted owing to the decay of the salt trade.

(64) Augila (A'JikXe) was known to Herodotus as the centre of a district in which the Nasamones from the shores of the Great Syrtis gathered dates (Herodotus, iv, chap. clxxii). It is curious to find that when Pacho visited it in 1825, the nomades from the same district came in autumn to lay in a supply of dates at "Audjelab", just as their forefathers had done five hundred years B.C., and no doubt a great deal earlier (Voyages dans la Cyrdnai'ue, p. 263). Abu-l-feda (ed. Solvet, p. 29) simply mentions "Audjelab" (spelt with a i and a ldm), as an isle with dates and springs in the midst of the sands between Maghreb and the Wahat. Edrisi goes further, and characterises it as a populous little town, most of the inhabitants of which were merchants doing business with Negroland. Horniman, who was the first European to visit it in modern times, though he left but a meagre account, described the place as consisting (in 1798) of badly-built limestone houses of one story, lighted by the doors, and generally arranged round a small courtyard. The inhabitants for the most part follow sedentary occupations, though some travel with the caravans between Cairo and Murzak, in Fezzan. Round the town the sandy soil (being well watered) is tolerably fertile. But, as Leo says, corn is so scarce as not to suffice for the people's wants, their supply
being obtained by bartering sheep for it with the Bengazi Arabs. See also Beaufoy, Proc. African Assoc., chap. v.

(65) This place is mentioned by Edrisi (ed. Hartmann, pp. 135, 294, 295, 296, 304, 305) as Sort, 246 geographical (230 Arabic) miles from Tripoli, which would place it near either Mahad Hassan or at Zaffian, or perhaps at Jedid, at all of which places there are piles of ruins. One of these is evidently Leo's Sert, though his

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details do not admit of localising it in a country full of the vestiges of vanished cities. Abu-l-feda (ed. Solvet, p. 141) also describes the remains of Sort as east of a gulf called Rodaik, or Rodakiah, the Zadic Sinus of Edrisi, a bay too loosely indicated to admit of its identification. El-Bekri (Not. et -Extraits, etc., t. xii, p. 450) also notices it. The term Sort, or Sert, is not now applied by the Arabs to any town, but is merely used to designate the tract of country which lies between Suleb and Barca. Within this district are the ruins of Medina, "the city", which also puts in a claim to be Sert.-Beechey, Proceedings, etc., 150-154. Barth identifies it with Medinet Sultan, Wanderungen, etc., pp. 334, 388(66) This method of the guides piloting the "akkabaahs" or caravans across the desert by smelling the earth is described by Pellow (Adventures, etc., p. 198) and Jackson (Account of Morocco, p. 295). And Ibn Batuta, a much greater traveller than any of his successors, notes how on his journey into the Sudan, the conductor of the caravan with which he travelled, though more than half blind, never mistook the road.

(67) The true orthography of" Alguechet" is Al Wehet-or Wahat -" the oasis". It is difficult to identify it with any of the Egyptian oases already noticed.

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IOHN LEO HIS
SEUENTH BOOKE OF
the Historie of Africa, and
of the memorable things
contained therein.
Wherein le intreateth of the land of Negros, and of
the confines of Egypt.
0 o o a Vr ancient Chroniclers of Africa, to wit, Bichri and Meshudi knew nothing 0 of the land of Negros but onely the 0 regions of Guechet and Cano: for o in their time all other places of the a land of Negros were vndiscou ered.

But in the yeere of the Hegeira 38o, by the meanes of a certaine Mahumetan which came into Barbarie, the residue of the said land was found out,' being as then inhabited by great numbers of people, which liued a brutal and savage life, without any king, gouernour, common wealth, or knowledge of husbandrie. Clad they were in skins of beasts, neither had they any peculiar wiues: in the day time they kept their cattell; and when night came they resorted ten or twelue both men
and women into one cottage together, using hairie skins instead of beds, and each man choosing his leman which he had most fancy vnto. Warre they wage against no other nation, ne yet are desirous to trauell out of their owne countrie. Some of them performe great adoration vnto

THE SEUENTH BOOKE OF THE
the sunne rising: others, namely the people of Gualata, worship the fire: and some others, to wit, the inhabitants of Gaoga, approch (after the Egyptians manner) neerervnto The Negros the Christian faith. These Negros were first subject vnto subjict vnto Iosepk king of king Ioseph the founder of Maroco, and afterward vnto the Mlaroco.

flue nations of Libya; of whom they learned the Mahumetan lawe, and diuers needfull handycrafts: a while after when the merchants of Barbarie began to resort vnto them with merchandize, they learned the Barbarian language also. But the foresaid flue people or nations of Libya diuided this land so among themseluves, that euery third part of each nation possessed one region.2 Howbeit Abuacre Iz- the king of Tombuto that now raigneth, called Abuacre chia.

Izchia, is a Negro by birth: this Abuacre after the decease of the former king, who was a Libyan borne, slue all his sonnes, and so vsurped the kingdome. And hauing by warres for the space of fifteene yeeres conquered many large dominions, he then concluded a league with all nations, and went on pilgrimage to Mecca, in which iournie he so consumed his treasure, that he was constrained to borrow great summes of money of other princes.3 Moreouer the fift eene kingdoms of Ntgros knowen to vs, are all situate vpon the riuer of Niger, and vpon other riuers which fall thereinto. And all the land of Negros standeth betweene two vast deserts, for on the one side lieth the maine desert betweene Numidia and it, which extendeth it selfe vnto this very land: and the south side thereof adioineth vpon another desert, which stretcheth from thence to the maine Ocean: in which desert are infinite nations vnknownen to vs, both by reason of the huge distance of place, and also in regarde of the diuersitie of languages and religions. They haue no traffique at all with our people, but we haue heard oftentimes of their traffique with the inhabitants of the Ocean sea shore.

HISTORIE OF AFRICA.
A description of the kingdom :f Gualata.
T His region in regarde of others is very small: for it containeth onely three great villages, with certaine granges and fields of dates. From Nun it is distant southward about three hundred, from Tombuto northward flue hundred, and from the Ocean sea about two hundred miles. In this region the people of Libya, while they were lords of the land of Negros, ordained their chiefe princely seate: and then great store of Barbarie-merchants frequented Gualata: but afterward in the raigne of the mighty and rich prince Hei, the said merchants leauing Gualata, began to resort vnto Tombuto and Gago, which was the occasion
that the region of Gualata grew extreme beggerly. The language of this region is called Sungai, and the inhabitants are blacke people, and most friendly vnto strangers. In my time this region was conquered by the king of Tombuto, and the prince thereof fled into the deserts, whereof the king of Tombuto hauing intelligence, and fearing least the prince would returne with all the people of the deserts, graunted him peace, conditionally that he should pay a great yeerely tribute vnto him, and so the said prince hath remained tributarie to the king of Tombuto vntill this present. The people agree in manners and fashions with the inhabitants of the next desert. Here groweth some quantitie of Mil-seed, and great store of a round & white kind of pulse, the like whereof I neuer saw This round and white pulse in Europe; but flesh is extreme scarce among them. Both is called Maiz in the west
the men & the women do so couer their heads, that al their Indies. countenance is almost hidden. Here is no forme of a common wealth, nor yet any gouernours or judges, but the people lead a most miserable life.4

THE SEUENTH BOOKE OF THE
A description of the kingdome of Ghinea.
This kingdome called by the merchants of our nation Gheneoa, by the natural inhabitants thereof Genni, and by the Portugals and other people of Europe Ghinea, standeth in the midst betweene Gualata on the north, Tombuto on the east, and the kingdome of Melli on the south. In length it containeth almost flue hundred miles, and extendeth two hundred and fiftie miles along the riuer of Niger, and bordereth vpon the Ocean sea in the same place, where Niger falleth into the saide sea. This place The natural1 exceedingly aboundeth with barlie, rice, cattell, fishes, and commvodities of Gkinea. cotton: and their cotton they sell vnto the merchants of Barbaric, for cloth of Europe, for brazen vessels, for armour, and other such commodities. Their coine is of gold without any stampe or inscription at all : they haue certaine iron-money also, which they vse about matters of small value, some peeces whereof weigh a pound, some halfe a pound, and some one quarter of a pound. In all this kingdotie there is no fruite to be found but onely dates, which are brought hither either out of Gualata or Numidia.
Heere is neither towne nor castle, but a certaine great village onely, wherein the prince of Ghinea, together with his priestes, doctors, merchants, and all the principall men of the region inhabite. The walles of their houses are built of chalke, and the roofes are couered with strawe :the inhabitants are clad in blacke or blew cotton, wherewith they couer their heads also : but the priests and doctors of their law go apparellled in white cotton. This region during the three moneths of Iulie, August, and September, is yeerely enuironed with the overflowings of Niger in manner of an Island ; all which time the merchants of Tombuto conueigh their merchandize hither in certaine Canoas or narrow boats made of one tree, which they rowe all the day long, but at night they binde them to the
HISTORIE OF AFRICA.
shore, and lodge themselves upon the lande. This kingdom was subject in times
past unto a certaine people of Libya, and became afterward tributarie unto king
Soni Heli, after whom succeeded Soni Heli Jzchia, who kept the prince of this
region prisoner at Gago, where together with The Prince of Gzinea kept
a certaine nobleman, he miserably died. prisoner by
y kzchia.
Of the kingdom of Melli.
This region extending itself almost three hundred
miles along the side of a river which falleth into Niger, bordereth northward upon
the region last described, southward upon certaine deserts and dry mountains,
westward upon huge woods and forests stretching to the Ocean sea shore, and
eastward upon the territorie of Gago. In this kingdom there is a large and ample
village containing to the number of six thousand or more families, and called
Melli, whereof the whole kingdom is so named. And here the king hath his place
of residence. The region itself yieldeth great abundance of corne, flesh, and
cotton. Here are many artificers and merchants in all places: and yet the king
honourably entertaineth all strangers. The inhabitants are rich, and have plenty of
wares. Here are great store of temples, priests, and professors, which
professors read their lectures only in the temples, because they have no colleges
at all. The people of this region excell all other Negroes in witte, civilitie, and
industry; and were the first that embraced the law of Mahumet, at the same time
when the uncle of fospli the king of Maroco was their prince, and the
government remained for a while unto his posterity: at length Jzcia The.Prizeof
zhIelli subdued
subdued the prince of this region, and made him his by Jzckia. tributarie, and so
oppressed him with grievous exactions, that he was scarce able to maintaine his
family.6
823
THE SEUENTH BOOKE OF THE
Of the kingdom of Tombuto.
Tombuto as His name was in our times (as some thinke) imposed conquered by
the king of upon this kingdom from the name of a certain
Maroco 1589,
from whence the towne so called, which (they say) king Mense Suleiman hath for
yearly
tribute mightie founded in the yeere of the Hegeira 6IO,7 and it is situate sumnes
ofgold. within twelve miles of a certaine branch of Niger, all the
houses whereof are now changed into cottages built of chalke, and couered with
thatch. Howbeit there is a most stately temple to be scene, the walls whereof are
made of stone and lime; and a princely palace also built by a most excellent
workeman of Granada.8 Here are many shops of artificers, and merchants, and
especially of such as weaue linnen and cotton cloth. And hither do the
Barbaric merchants bring cloth of Europe. All the women of this region except maid-seruants go with their faces covered, and sell all necessarie victuals. The inhabitants, & especially strangers there residing, are exceeding rich. The king that now is, married both his daughters unto two rich merchants. Here are many wells, Tombuto containing most sweete water; and so often as the river ried unto the Tombuto, which is verie scarce here; for it is brought hither by land from Tegaza, which is two hundred miles distant. When I my plied by our selves was here, I saw one camels oade of salt sold for English merchants to the king of Tombuto. The rich king of Tombuto hath many plates gaine. and scepters of gold, some whereof weigh 1300. pounds: and he keepes a magnificent and well furnished court. When he trauelleth any whither he rideth vpon a camell, which is lead by some of his noblemen; and so he doth likewise when hee goeth to warfar, and all his souldiers ride Reuerence used vpon horses. Whosoever will speake vnto this king must be/ore the king of Tombuto. first fall downe before his feete, & then taking vp earth must sprinkle it vpon his owne head & shoulders: which custom is ordinarily observed by them that never saluted the king before, or come as ambassadors from other princes. He hath alwaies three thousand horsemen, and a great number of footmen that shoot poysioned arrowes, attending vpon him. They haue often skirmishes with Poysioned arrowes, those that refuse to pay tribute, and so many as they take, they sell vnto the merchants of Tombuto. Here are verie few horses bred, and the merchants and courtiers keepe certaine little nags which they use to trauell vpon: but their best horses are brought out of Barbarie. And the king so soone as he heareth that any merchants are come to towne with horses, he commandeth a certaine number to be brought before him, and chusing the best horse for himselfe, he payeth a most liberall price for him.9 He so deadly hateth all lewes, that he will not admit any into his citie: and whatsoeuer Barbarie merchants he understandeth haue any dealings with the Jewes, he presently causeth their goods to be confisicate. Here are great store. of doctors, iudges, priests, and other learned men, that are bountifullly maintained at the kings cost and charges. And hither are brought diuers manuscripts or written bookes out of Barbaric, which are sold for more money than any other merchandize.10 The coine of Tombuto is Shels vsed for coine like as in
of gold without any stampe or superscription: but in the kingdome matters of smal value they use certaine shels brought hither of Congo. out of the kingdome of Persia, four hundred of which shels are worth a ducate: and sixe pieces of their golden coine with two third parts weigh an ounce. The inhabitants are people of a gentle and cheereful disposition, and spend a great part of the night in singing and dancing through all the streets of the citie: they keep great store of men and women-slaues, and their towne is much in danger of fire: at my second being there halfe the town almost was burnt in flue howers space. With3G

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out the suburbs there are no gardens nor orchards at all.
Of the towne of Cabra.
This large towne built without walles in manner of a village, standeth about twelve miles from Tombuto vpon the river Niger: and here such merchants as travel vnto the kingdomes of Ghinea and Melli embareke themselues. Neither are the people or buildings of this towne any whit inferiour to the people and buildings of Tombuto; and hither the Negros resort in great numbers by water. In this towne the king of Tombuto appointeth a judge to decide all controversies; for it were tedious to goe thither so oft as need should require. I my selfe am acquainted with Abu Bacr, sirnamed Pargama, the kings brother, who is blacke in colour, but most beautifull in minde and conditions. Here breed many diseases which exceedingly diminish the people; and that by reason of the fond and loathsome mixture of their meats; for they mingle fish, milke, butter, and flesh altogether. And this is the ordinarie food also in Tombuto.

Of the towne and kingdome of Gago.
The great towne of Gago being unwalled also, is distant southward of Tombuto almost four hundred miles, and enclineth somewhat to the southeast. The houses thereof are but meane, except those wherein the king and his courtiers remaine. Here are exceeding rich merchants: and hither continually resort great store of Negros which buy cloth here brought out of Barbarie and Europe. This towne aboundeth with corne and flesh, but is much destitute of wine, trees, and fruits. Howbeit here is plentie of melons, citrons, and rice: here are many welles also containing most sweete and wholesome water. Here is likewise a certaine place where slaues are to be sold, especially vpon such daies as the merchants use to

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assemble; and a yoong slaue of fifteene yeeres age is sold for sixe ducates, and so are children sold also. The king of this region hath a certaine priuate palace wherein he maintaineth a great number of concubines and slaues, which are kept by eunuches: and for the guard of his owne person he keepeth a sufficient troupe of horsemen and footmen. Betweene the first gate of the palace and the inner part thereof, there is a place walled round about wherein the king himselfe decideth all his subjects controversies: and albeit the king be in this function most diligent,
and performeth all things thereto appertayning, yet hath he about him his counsellors & other officers, as namely his secretaries, treasurers, factors, and auditors. It is a wonder to see what plente of Merchandize is dayly brought hither, and how costly and sumptuous all things be. Horses bought in Europe for ten ducates, are here sold againe for fortie and sometimes for fiftie ducates a piece. There is not any cloth of Europe so course, which Rich salef or cloth, will not here be sold for fower ducates an elle, and if it be anything fine they will give fiftie ducates for an ell: and an ell of the scarlet of Venice or of Turkie-cloath is here worth thirtie ducates. A sword is here valued at three or fower crownes, and so likewise are spurs, bridles, with other like commodities, and spices also are sold at an high rate: but of all other commodities salt is most extremelie deere. The residue of this kingdom containeth nought but villages and hamlets inhabited by husbandmen and shepherds, who in winter couer their bodies with beasts skins; but in sommer they goe all naked saue their priuie members: and sometimes they weare vpon their feet certaine shooes made of camels leather. They are ignorant and rude people, and you shall scarce finde one learned man in the space of an hundred miles. They are continually burthened with grieuous exactions, so that they haue scarce any thing remaining to liue vpon.

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Of the kingdome of Guber.
T standeth eastward of the kingdome of Gago almost three hundred miles; betwenee which two kingdomes lieth a vast desert being much destitute of water, for it is about fortie miles distant from Niger. The kingdome of Guber13 is enuironed with high mountaines, and containeth many villages inhabited by shepherds, and other herdsmen. Abundance of cattell here are both great and small: but of a lower stature then the cattell in other places. Heere are also great store of artificers and linnen weauers: and heere are such shooes made as the ancient Romans were wont to weare, the greatest part whereof be carried to Tombuto and Gago. Likewise heere is abundance of rice, and of certaine other graine and pulse, the like whereof I neuer saw in Italie. But I thinke it growth in some Their maner places of Spaine. At the inundation of Niger all the fields of sowing corne at the inuan- of this region are overflooded, and then the inhabitants cast tion of Niger. their seede into the water onely. In this region there is a certaine great village containing almost sixe thousand families, being inhabited with all kinde of merchants, and here was in times past the court of a certaine king, who in The king of my time was slaine by Izchia the king of Tombuto, and Guber slaine by Izchia. his sonnes were gelt, and accounted among the number of the kings eunuches. Afterward he sent gouernours hither who mightily oppressed and impouerished the people that were before rich: and most part of the inhabitants were
carried captiue and kept for slaues by the said Izchia.
Of the citie and kingdome of Agadez.
THe citie of Agadez standing neere vnto Lybia was not long since walled round about by a certaine king. The inhabitants are all whiter then other Negros: and their houses are stately built after the fashion of Barbaric. The greatest part of the citizens are forren merchants, and the residue be either artificers, or stipendaries to the king. Euery merchant hath a great many of servants and slaues, who attend vpon them as they trauell from Cano to Borno: for in that iourney they are exceedingly molested by certaine theeues called Zingani, Zingani. insomuch that they dare not trauell the same way vnlesse they be well appointed: in my time they vsed crossebowes for their defence: when the said merchants be arrived at any towne, they presently employ all their slaues about some busines, to the end they may not liue in idlenes: ten or twelue they keepe to attend vpon themselues and their wares. The king of this citie hath alwaies a notable garde about him, and continueth for the most part at a certaine palace in the midst of the citie. He hath greatest regarde vnto his subjects that inhabithe in the deserts and fields: for they will sometime expell their king and choose another: so that he which pleaseth the inhabitants of the desert best is sure to be king of Agadez. The residue of this kingdome lying southward is inhabited by shepherds and herdsmen, who dwell in certaine cottages made of boughes, which cottages they carrie about vpon oxen from place to place. They erect their cottages alwaies in the same field where they determine to feede their cattell; like as the Arabians also doe. Such as bring merchandize out of other places pay large custome to the king: and the king of Tombuto receiueth for A4gadez tributarie to the yeerely tribute out of this kingdome almost an hundred kingof Tomand fiftie thousand ducats.16 buto.
Of the prouince of Cano.
THe great prouince of Cano stadeth eastward of the riuer Niger almost flue hundred miles. The greatest part of the inhabitants dwelling in villages are some of them herdsmen and others husbandmen. Heere groweth abundance of come, of rice, and of cotton. Also here are many deserts and wilde woodie mountaines containing many springs of water. In these woods growe plentie of wilde citrons and limons, which differ not much in taste from the best of all. In the midst of this prouince standeth a towne called by the same name, the walles and houses whereof are built for the most part of a kinde of chalke. The inhabitants are rich merchants and most ciuill people. Their king was in times past of great puissance, and had mighty troupes of horsemen at his command ; but he hath since beene constrained to pay tribute
The kings of Zegzeg and Casena. Afterwarde Ischia the king of Zegzeg, Casena, and of Tombuto faining friendship vnto the two foresaid kings Cano subdued by IAchia the trecherously slew them both. And then he waged warre king of Tombuto. against the king of Cano, whom after a long siege he take, and compelled him to marie one of his daughters, restoring him againe to his kingdome, conditionally that he should pay vnto him the third part of all his tribute: and the said king of Tombuto hath some of his courtiers perpetually residing at Cano for the receit thereof.

Of the kingdome of Casena.

Asena bordering eastward Vpon the kingdome last described, is full of mountaines, and drie fields, which yeeld notwithstanding great store of barlie and millseed. The inhabitants are extremely black, hauing great noses and blabber lips. They dwell in most forlorne and base cottages : neither shall you finde any of their villages containing aboue three hundred families. And besides their base estate they are mightily oppressed with famine: a king they had in times past whom the foresaid Ischia slew, since whose death they haue all beene tributarie vnto Ischia.'s ichia.

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Of the kingdome of Zegzeg.
T He southeast part thereof bordereth vpon Cano, and it is distant from Casena almost an hundred and fiftie miles. The inhabitants are rich and haue great traffique vnto other nations. Some part of this kingdome is plaine, and the residue mountainous, but the mountaines are extremel cold, and the plains intolerably hot. And because they can hardly indure the sharpnes of winter, they kindle great fires in the midst of their houses, laying the coles thereof vnder their high bedsteads, and so betaking themselues to lepe. Their fields abounding with water, are exceeding fruitful. & their houses are built like the houses of the kingdom of Casena. They had a king of their owne in times past, who being slaine by Ischia (as is Izchia. aforesaid) they haue euer since beene subiect vnto the said Ischia.

Of the region of Zanfara.
T He region of Zanfara bordering eastward vpon Zegzeg is inhabited by most base and rusticall people. Their fields abound with rice, mill, and cotton. The inhabitants are tall in stature and extremely blacke, their visages are broad, and their dispositions most sauage and brutish. Their king also was slaine by Ischia, and them-by Ichia, and thepjeople made selues made tributarie.21 tributarie.

Of the towne and kingdome of Guangara.
THis kingdome adioineth southeasterly vpon Zanfara,
being very populous, and having a king reigning over it, which maintaineth a
garrison of seven thousand archers, and five hundred horsemen, and receiveth
yearly great tributes. In all this kingdom there are none but base villages, one
only excepted, which exceedeth the rest both in largeness and faire building. The
inhabitants are

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very rich, and have continual trafficke with the nations adjoyning. Southward
thereof lieth a region greatly Gold. abounding with gold. But now they can
have no trafficke
with foreign nations, for they are molested on both sides with most cruel enemies.
For westward they are oppressed Ischia by Ischia, and eastward by the king of
Borno. When I
my selfe was in Borno, king Abraham having levied an huge armie, determined to
expel the prince of Guangara out of his kingdom, had he not beene hindered by
Homar the prince of Gaoga, which began to assaile the kingdom of Borno.
Wherefore the king of Borno being drawne home into his owne countrie, was
enforced to give over the conquest of Guangara. So often as the merchants of
Guangara trauell unto the foresaid region abounding with gold, because the waies
are so rough and difficult that their camels cannot goe vpon them, they carry their
wares vpon slaves backes ; who being laden with great burthenes doe usually
trauell ten or twelue miles a day. Yea some I saw that made two of those iournesies
in one day: a wonder it is to see what heauie burthenes these poore slaves are
charged withall ; for besides the merchandize they carry victuals also for their
masters, and for the
soldiers that goe to garde them.22

Of the kingdom of Borno.
The large prouince of Borno bordering westward vpon
the prouince of Guangara, and from thence extending eastward five hundred
miles, is distant from the fountain of Niger almost an hundred and fiftie miles,
the south part thereof adjoyning vnto the desert of Set, and the north part vnto that
desert which lieth towards Barca.
The situation of this kingdom is very vneuen, some part thereof being
mountainous, and the residue plaine. Vpon the plaines are sundry villages
inhabited by rich merchants, and abounding with come. The king of this region
and

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all his followers dwell in a certaine large village.23 The mountaines being
inhabited by herdsmen and shepherds doe bring forth mill and other graine
altogether vnsnownen to vs. The inhabitants in summer goe all naked saue their
pruiue members which they couer with a peece of leather: but al winter they are
clad in skins, and haue beds of skins also. They embrace no religion at all, being
neither Christians, Mahumetans, nor lewes, nor of any other profession, but liuing
after a brutish manner, and hauing wiues and children in common: and (as I
understood of a certayne merchant that abode a long time among them) they haue
no proper names at all, but euery one is nicknamed according to his length, his
fatnes, or some other qualitie. They haue a most puissant prince, being lineally
descended from the Libyan people called Bardoa. Horsemen he hath in a
continuall readiness to the number of three thousand, & an huge number of
footmen; for al his subiects are so serviceable and obedient vnto him, that
whensoeuer he commandeth them, they wil arme themselues and follow him
whither he pleaseth to conduct them. They paye vnto him none other tribute but
the tithes of all their corne: neither hath this king any reuenues to maintaine his
estate, but ouely such spoiles as he getteth from his next enimies by often
invasions and assaults. He is at perpetuall enmitie with a certayne people
inhabiting beyond the desert of Seu; The desert of who in times past marching
with an huge armie of footemen Seu. over the said desert, wasted a great part of
the kingdome of Borno. Whereupon the king of Borno sent for the merchants of
Barbary, and willed them to bring him great store of horses: for in this countrie
they use to exchange horses for slaues, and to giue fifteene, and sometime twentie
Fifteene or twentie slaues
slaues for one horse. And by this meanes there were exchanged for abundance of
horses brought: howbeit the merchants wereone horse. constrained to stay for
their slaues till the king returned
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home conquerour with a great number of captiues, and satisfied his creditors for
their horses. And oftentimes it falleth out that the merchants must stay three
months together, before the king returneth from the warres, but they are all that
while maintained at the kings charges. Sometimes he bringeth not home slaues
enough to satisfie the merchants: and otherwhiles they are constrained to awaite
there a whole yeere togethers; for the king maketh invasions but euery yeere once,
& that at one set and appointed time of the yeere. Yea I my selfe met with sundrie
merchants heere, who despairing of the kings paiment, because they had trusted
him an whole yeere, determined neuer to come thither with horses againe. And
yet the king seemeth to be marueilous rich; for his spurre, his bridles, platters,
dishes, pots, and other vessels wherein his meate and drinke are brought to the
table, are all of pure golde: yea, and the chaines of his dogs and hounds are of
golde also. Howbeit this king is extremelye couetous, for he had much rather pay
his debts in slaues than in gold. In this kingdome are great multitudes of Negros
and of other people, the names of whom (because I tarried heere but one moneth) I
could not well note.
Of the kingdome of Gaoga.
G Aoga bordering westward vpon the kingdome of
Borno, and extending eastward to the confines of Nubia, adjoineth southward
vnto a certayne desert situate vpon a crooked and winding part of Nilus, and is
enclosed northward with the frontiers of Egypt. It stretcheth from east to west in
length flue hundred miles, and as much in bredth. They haue neither humanitie
not learning among them, but are most rusticall and sauage people, and especially	hose that inhabite the mountaines, who go all naked saue their priuities: their
houses are made of boughes & rafts, and are much subiect to burning, and

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they haue great abundance of cattel, whereunto they giue diligent attendance. For
many yeers they remained in libertie, of which libertie they were deprivd by a
certaine Negro slaue of the same region. This slaue lying vpon a -4 Negro-slaue
who lauing
certaine night with his master that was a wealthie slaine his Lord grew to great
merchant, & considering that he was not far from his might and authoritie.
natiue countreys, slue his saide master, possessed his goods, and returned home:
where hauing bought a certayne number of horses, he began to inuade the people
next adioning, and obtained for the most part the victorie : for he conducted a
troupe of most valiant & warlike horsmen against his enemies that were but
sl~derly appointed. And by this means he tooke great numbers of captiues, whom
he exchanged for horses that were brought out of Egypt : insomuch that at length
(the number of his souldiers increasing) he was accounted of by all men as
soueraigne K. of Gaoga. After him succeeded his son, being no whit inferior in
valour & high courage vnto his father; who reigned for the space of fortie yeeres.
Next him succeeded his brother Moses, & after Moses his nephew Homara, who
beareth rule at this present. This Homara hath greatly enlarged his dominions,
and hath entred league with the Soldan of Cairo, by whom he is often
presented with magnificent gifts, which he most bountifully requiteth: also diuers
merchants of Egypt, and diuers inhabitants of Cairo present most pretious and rare
things vnto him, and highly commend his surpassing liberalitie. This prince
greatly honoureth all learned men, and especially such as are of the linage of
Mahumet. I my selfe being in his court, a certaine noble man of Damiat a brought
him very rich and roiall gifts, as namely, a gallant horse, a Turkish sworde, and a
kingly robe, with certaine other particulars that cost about an hundred and fiftie
ducates at Cairo: in recompence whereof the king gaue him flue slaues, flue
camels, flue hundred ducates of that region, and an hundred elephants teeth of
woonderfull bignes.27

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Of the kingdome of Nubia.
N Vbia bordering westward vpon the kingdome last
described, and stretching from thence vnto Nilus, is
enclosed on the southside with the desert of Goran, 28and on the north side with
the confines of Egypt. Howbeit they cannot passe by water from this kingdome
into The rinuerof Egypt: for the riuier of Nilus is in some places no deeper Nilus
not
nauigable be- then a man may wade ouer on foote. The principall towne tweene
Nubia
and Egypt. of this kingdome called Dangala is exceeding populous, and containeth to the number of ten thousand families. The walls of their houses consist of a kinde of chalke, and the roofes are couered with strawe. The townesmen are exceeding rich and ciuill people, and haue great traffike with the merchants of Cairo & of Egypt: in other parts of this kingdome you shall finde none but villages and hamlets situate vpon the riuer of Nilus, all the inhabitants whereof The rich corn- are husbandmen. The kingdome of Nubia is most rich in nodities of Nubia. come and sugar, which notwithstanding they knowe not how to vse. Also in the citie of Dangala there is great plentie of ciuet and Sandall-wood. This region aboundeth with Iuory likewise, bicause heere are so many elephants Most strong taken. Heere is also a most strong and deadly poison, one poysone. graine whereof being diuided amongst ten persons, will kill them all within lesse then a quarter of an hower: but if one man taketh a graine, he dieth thereof out of hand. An ounce of this poison is solde for an hundred ducates; neither may it be solde to any but to forraine merchants, & whosoeuer buieth it is bound by an oath not to vse it in the kingdome of Nubia. All such as buy of this poison are constrained to pay as much vnto the king, as to the merchant: but if any man selleth poison without the princes knowledge, he is presently put to death.2 The king of Nubia maintaineth continuall warre, partly against the people of Goran (who being descended of the people Nubia.)

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called Zingani, inhabite the deserts, and speake a kinde of Zingani. language that no other nation vnderstandeth) and partly against certaine other people also dwelling vpon the desert which lieth eastward of Nilus, and stretcheth towards the red sea, being not farre from the borders of Suachen. Their language (as I take it) is mixt, for it hath great affinity with the Chaldean toong, with the language of Suachen, and with the language of Ethiopia the higher, where Prete Gianni is said to beare rule: the people them- Prete Gianni. selues are called Bugiha, and are most base and miserable, Bugika. and Hue onely vpon milke, camel-s flesh and the fleshe of such beasts as are taken in those deserts. Sometimes they receiue tribute of the gouernour of Suachen, and sometimes of the gouernours of Dangala. They had once a rich towne situate vpon the red sea called Zibid, whereunto belonged a commodious hauen, being opposite vnto the hauen of Zidem, which is fortie miles distant from Mecca. But an hundred yeeres since it was destroyed by the Soldan, bicause the inhabitants receiued certaine wares which should haue beene carried to Mecca, and at the same time the famous port of Zibid was destroyed, from whence notwithstanding was gathered a great yeerely tribute. The inhabitants being chased from thence fledde vnto Dangala and Suachin, and at length being overcome in batalla, by the gouernour of Suachin, there were in one day slaine of them aboue fower thousand, and a thousand were carried captiue vnto Suachin, who were massacred by the women and children of the citie.33 And thus much (friendly reader) as concerning the lande of Negros: the fifteene
kingdomes whereof agreeing much in rites and customs, are subject unto fewer princes only. Let us now proceed unto the description of Egypt.

Here endeth the seventh booke.

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(i) Leo takes this account avowedly from Mas'udi's Murij uzZahab ("Meadows of Gold"), A.D. 943-44, and El-Bekri's Kitab ul-mesdlek-wa'l-mendlek ("The Book of Roads and Realms"), A.D. 1067. But he is quite wrong in affirming that nothing was known of Negroland until the Barbary traders crossed the desert (A.D. 994); for Ibn Haukal, who began his travels in A.D. 943, gives the distances between Segelmessa and Audaghort, Ghama, Kuku, Kugha, and "Ulil", where there were salt mines (MS. in Leyden University Library, p. 34; Walckenaer, Recherches Giog. sur Pn rieur de 'Afrique, p. 13. It is not given in Ouseley's imperfect translation of Ibn Haukal Oriental Geografihy, i 8oo:"A certaine Mahumetan which came into Barbarie," etc., is in the Italian version "e la causa fu questa, che allore Luntuna e tutto il popolo di Libia per causa d'un predicatore si fece maumettano, e venne ad alitare nella Barberia, e comincib a practicare, e aver cognizione di detti paesi" (Reprint, 1837). That is, the Land of the Negroes was thus discovered. The family of Luntuna and all the people of Lybia were through a (Mohammedan) preacher converted to Mohammedanism. He then came to live in Barbary, and strove to inform himself and did acquire a knowledge of that country (Negroland).

(2) The five nations of Libya here referred to seem to be the Lenituna, Lemta, Jedala, Tuareg, and Zenega, collectively known from wearing the litham or face covering (still seen among the Tuareg) as the "Moleththemin", or Litham-bearers. The propaganda of Islam among the desert races was virtually begun by Yahia Ibn Ibrahim, a Tuareg chief, and founder of the Almohade dynasty. He sought the help of Wahaj Ibn Zelu, a disciple of Abu Amran, a Marabout of Kairwan, though originally from Fez (A.D. 1035-47). Wahj Ibn Zelu resided at Malkus, near Marakesh; but not caring to go on the mission himself, he sent his disciple, Abd Allah Ibn Yazin of Segelmessa, who established a "zuia" on an island near the mouth of the Senegal, where in time his followers became known as E1-MarAbitin, familiar to us under the corrupt form of Almoravides. They soon became very powerful, and under the leadership of Yahia Ibn Omar subdued the neighbouring tribes. They next menaced Morocco; and in A.D. 1053 (A.H. 445), Segelmessa was captured and occupied. Abu Bekr, who succeeded his brother, Yahia Ibn Omar, after making

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839 himself master of the Wad-Nun country, Sus, Tarudant, and Aghmat, penetrated in A.D. 1058 (A.H. 450) to Tedla, and destroyed the Ifrenide princes and the Berghuata who inhabited the littoral of Anfa and Temesna. Having been struck with paralysis in the desert, Abu Bekr handed over his authority to his cousin
Yussuf Ibn Tashfin, who thereupon marched against the Sudan races, ninety days' journey south of the Almoravide countries. -Godard, Le Maroc, p. 310.

(3) Hajj Mohammed ben Abu Bakr Askia ("Abuacre Izchia") was actually King of Songhai ("Sungai"). His conquests were just beginning when Leo visited Negroland, so that our traveller must have obtained most of his information regarding Askia's subsequent proceedings from Arab merchants who disliked the usurper, owing to the heavy taxes he levied for the support of his great armed force.

-the duties on merchandise interfering seriously with trade. He founded the homonymous dynasty of the Askia by rising against Sonni Abu Bakr Dau, son of Sonni Ali ("Sonni Heli" of Leo), a powerful monarch, who (A.H. 894, A.D. 1488) wrested Timbuktu from the Tuaregs, who had captured it from Meli. Askia-whom Barth justly characterises as perhaps the greatest sovereign that ever ruled over Negroland—was a native of the island of Neni, a little below Zinder on the Niger, and hence (unlike Sonni Ali, who was of Arab or, more probably, Berber origin) a good specimen of what the pure-blooded negro is capable of becoming. Popular with the rigid Mohammedans—instead of being odious in their eyes as Sonni Ali was—Askia, at the very period that Almeida and Albuquerque were doubling the Cape of Storms and founding the Portuguese Indian Empire, extended his conquests from Hausa to near the Atlantic, and from Mossi as far as Tuat, everywhere ruling with equity and vigour.

Askia, or Sikkia, was assumed by him as his royal title (A.D. 1492, A.H. 898). After a reign of thirty-six and a half years, he was compelled to abdicate by his rebellious son, Askia Musa, and died in dishonour A.D. 1537 (A.H. 944).-Barth, Travels, vol. iv, pp. 414, 596-605.

This chapter is not very fully translated. Thus the "former king", to whom Abu Bekr was "Capitano", is not given as "Soni Heli, King of Tumbutto and Gago of the family of the Libyan tribes"; nor is it correct for Leo to say that Abu Bekr "dopo la morte del detto si rebellb contra i figliuoli, i quelli fece morire e torn6 il dominio nei Negri", since Sonni Abu Bekr Dau fled to Abar (Adar), where he died. Nor does he correctly translate how Askia by his munificence on the pilgrimage to Mecca "spese tutti i suoi tesori, e rimase debitore di centocinquanta milia ducati" (spent all his wealth and became in debt 150,000 ducats or mithkals). Nothing is said about getting in debt to "other princes", which, all things considered, would have been in the highest degree improbable. But, according to the chronicle of Ahmed Baba of Timbuktu—of which Barth was allowed to take hurried extracts—Askia went to Mecca with 1,500 armed men, and 300,000 mithkals to defray his expenses. His official investiture as Khalifa in Songhai was performed in the Holy City by the Shereef El-Abbasi. He also founded a charitable institution in Mecca for the people Tekrur; so that a sovereign of such lavish generosity might well have exceeded his estimated expenditure.

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debt to "other princes", which, all things considered, would have been in the highest degree improbable. But, according to the chronicle of Ahmed Baba of Timbuktu—of which Barth was allowed to take hurried extracts—Askia went to Mecca with 1,500 armed men, and 300,000 mithkals to defray his expenses. His official investiture as Khalifa in Songhai was performed in the Holy City by the Shereef El-Abbasi. He also founded a charitable institution in Mecca for the people Tekrur; so that a sovereign of such lavish generosity might well have exceeded his estimated expenditure.
Walata. When Ibn Batuta visited it in A.D. 1352-53 (A.H. 753, 754) Walata was an important commercial centre; but soon after the conquests of Sonni Ali, as Leo mentions, its trade went over to Timbuktu and Gago. Walata is the Arab and TuAreg name, while Biru is the one applied to it by the Negro Azer, a section of the Aswanek, who are the original inhabitants of the place. It is at present a town of well-built clay houses, each with a rough coat of plaster. The region close to the district of El-Hodh at the foot of the Dahr Walata hills, and in a well-wooded valley, is considered very unhealthy. But there is little business, and in Barth’s day it was described as a “seat of poverty and misery”: an unflattering characterisation which does not agree with the statements of Ca da Mosto in 1513, or of Alioun Sal in 1860. It is inhabited by a mixed race of whites and blacks-Berbers, Arabs and Azer-who speak the Azeriyya idiom, and bear an indifferent reputation.

"Mil seed", or millet, is perhaps Pennise/um tyhoideum, not maize, as Pory adds, with superfluous erudition.

Jinni or Jenni, founded in A.D. 1033-34 (A.H. 435), according to the documents from which Barth (vol. iv, p. 582) compiled his “Chronological Table of Songhay and the neighbouring Kingdoms”. It soon became wealthy, owing to the trade in salt from TeghAza and in gold from Bitu (Leo's Bito, the Bede of Denham and Clapperton, according to Cooley, Negrolandofthe Arabs, p. 129). About A.D. 1203-4 (A.H. 600) most of the inhabitants, including the king, embraced Islam. Soon afterwards it became subject to Mari Jatah, King of Meli, on the Upper Niger; and as the principal market of the Fulahs, Joloff, Zenagha, Serracolits, and the inhabitants of Western Tekrur and the Udaya, attained the zenith of its prosperity (De Barros, Asia, ed. Lisboa 1778, lib. i, chap. 8, p. 220). In A.H. 873 (A.D. 1468-9) it was conquered after great slaughter by Sonni Ali. At that time it enjoyed a prosperous trade in native cloth (De Barros, lib. Cit., p. 257; Kunstmann, Abhandl. der K. Baier. Akad. kl. iii, vol. viii).

Leo is our only authority for the fact that Askia kept the King of 840

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Jinni prisoner in his own capital. A more correct translation of the passage is, however, that Askia, having invaded the country and taken prisoner the last King of the Libyan (Berber) race who had become tributary to Sonni Ali, held him captive in Gogo till his death, and governed the kingdom by a deputy (”Con un suo luogotenante” There is nothing in the original about a "certaine nobleman". Leo derived Guinea from Jinni, and most likely correctly. But there are rival etymologies—Ginahoa, the first negro country visited by the Portuguese, Ghana, Jenna, a coast town, once of note, etc.—among which it is idle to choose. Cailiff was the first European—at least, in later times—to enter Jinni, though Mungo Park saw it on his last journey. "Tutte le case di costoro sono fatte a modo di capanne, ma investite di creta, e coperte di paglia"—is not quite correctly translated. It should be: The houses are built in the shape of hamlets, the walls of clay (which Leo usually renders "creta"), and thatched with straw. In reality, they
are built of sundried bricks, and lime is unknown, though Temporal rather freely translates the passage—"blanches de craye". When Caillié visited it the houses were mostly of a better quality and the town surrounded by a low, badly-constructed wall. But the inhabitants had evidently improved by their intercourse with the Moors and other foreign merchants.

(6) Meli, Melli, Melle, Malli, or Mally was a prosperous kingdom when Ibn Batuta visited its capital. He describes it as the residence of the "king of the black men-Mansa Sleiman"," Mansa" signifying Sultan. Many merchants seem to have visited it, and cowries (Cyfrwa moneta) were, as is still the custom in that region, used in place of money (Ibn Batuta, ed. Defremery et Sanguinetti, t. iv, pp. 397 et seq., 435, 439). But before that date the kingdom had played a great part in the Sudan. In about A.D. 1235-60 Mari Jatah, King of Meli, conquered the Susu, who at that time were masters of Ghamata. Mansa Kunkur Musa, the greatest of the Meli monarchs, who, according to Ahmed Baba of Timbuktu (Rohlfs, Zeitsch. Leizig Oriental Soc., vol. ix, p. 350) possessed “an aggressive strength without measure or limit”, extended his dominions by absorbing Baghena (the remnants of the disrupted kingdoms of Baghena, Zagha, Tinibuktu and Songhai, with its capital Gogo. His wealth was so great that he made the Mekka pilgrimage with a following like an army—his route being by way of Walata and Tuat and Gogo (or Gagho). Mansa Sleiman, who was Sultan at the time of Ibn Batuta's visit (A.D. 1352-53), in A.D. 1336 again occupied Timbuktu, which had apparently been left to itself for some years. About A.D. 1433 the Meli empire began to decline, its power being divided among a number of semi-independent governors, with the result that

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the TuAreg spread desolation on every side. Yet in 1454 Alvise di Ca da 'Mosto (Prima Navigazione, c. 13) could still describe it as the most powerful of the Negroland kingdoms, and the most important for traffic in gold and slaves. In 1501, Askia made Meli part of his empire—a fact noted by Leo. Meli was perhaps the town called Zillen or Zalna by Ahmed Baba, the inhabitants of which were sold into slavery when Askia took and added this and other important towns to the Songhai empire, already extending 1,500 miles from east to west and 1,000 miles from north to south. It was Leo who first made the word Songhai (Sungai) familiar to Europe, De Barros also using it. After this Meli waned rapidly, its sovereign bearing the title of Ferengh instead of Mansa. But its final extinction as an empire was due to a civil war between the sons of Ferengh Mahmud, about the middle of the seventeenth century, in which all the most powerful tribes in that part of Africa engaged. The result was that the capital of Meli was destroyed, and the country divided up among the various participants in this suicidal struggle. The Baghena lordship was given by Mulai Ismail of Morocco, under a sort of feudal tenure, to the chief of the Mebarek tribe. (7) Tin-Buktu, "the well of Buku", as it has been fancifully translated: Timbuctoo, to use the familiar spelling: Timbuktu in more accurate form—once a city of mystery and fable, is now so familiar that it is no longer necessary to
speculate regarding the exact meaning of Leo's statements, or what modicum of truth they possess. In the editor's Africa (vol. i, pp. 26-312; vol. iv, p. 298) notes may be found on the numerous vacillations of opinion regarding this country, and journeys in search of it; and in Barth's Travels (vol. iv, pp. 403, 480, etc.) and Lenz's Timbuktu (vol. ii, p. 114 et seq.), the fullest information is embodied on the history and condition of the city prior to the French occupying it on the 10th January, 1893. Its subsequent fate has been chronicled by MM. Hubert et Delafosse in Tombouctou, son histoire, sa conquête (1894) and by Zoudevan in Tijdschrift Velierlandsch Aardrijkenootschaaf, vol. ix (1892), pp. 375-400. In the Comptes Rendus of the Paris Geographical Society, 1894, Nos. 18, 19, and 1895, p. 62, the information collected by the French military officers is embodied. I may, however, supplement Leo's description by a few explanatory remarks.

Timbuktu means in the Songhai language a hollow, and perhaps got the name from being built in the cavity of the sand hills. It was founded towards the end of the fifth century of the Hegira (A.D. 1087-8) by the Tuareg, who have since used its site as an occasional camping-place.-Barth, Travels, vol. iv, p. 584.

(8) Since Leo's day the influence of the Moors has been most marked; for, with the exception of some conical mat huts, the houses are now well built of clay ("chalke"=creta) around courtyards, and with terraces, not thatched, as described by the viator of four centuries ago. Pory, copying Florianus, has not quite correctly translated this passage—"Le cui case sono capanne fatte di pali, coperte di creta [in the Latin Cujus domus omnes in tuguriola cretacea'], coi cortivi di paglia." It should be: The houses here are built like cabins, the walls are hurdles plastered over with clay, and the houses covered with reeds (straw). Moore, by his ingenuity in mistranslating "capanne" (which he mistakes for "campane"), as "bells", still further confuses Leo's meaning; though, no doubt, bell-shaped or conical is very applicable to the usual Nigritic style of architecture.

The statement that almost half of the city was, during Leo's second visit, burnt down in the course of five hours, and that fires were one of the perils to which it was peculiarly subject, rather confirms the description of the inflammable character of the buildings in 1500. See M. Jomard's remarks in Calliè's Travels (English ed.), vol. ii, P. 343.

The Great Mosque and the palace were built by Mansa Musa, King of Meli, as a half-legible inscription over the principal gate attests. The architect—"un eccellente maestro di Granata"—was Ishak, commonly called Es-Saheli, as if he were a native of Morocco, not of Granada. But the Sankor6 mosque is generally regarded as the oldest in the city.

(9) This description of the magnificence of Askia is no doubt quite accurate. For his plunder must have been accumulating fast, while his military forces and the merchants whom they attracted to Timbuktu must have given employment to a great many people during the moderately enlightened rule of Askia's brother,
Omar, as "Tumbutukoy" (Viceroy of Timbuktu), in spite of Sonni Ali having sacked it thirty years previously (A.D. 1468-9, A.H. 873). Timbuktu has decayed very greatly during the last four centuries: for at the date of Lenz's visit—1880—the entire population did not exceed 20,000, with a few traders and their followers during the caravan season; and until the French occupation the place still further approached insignificance by reason of the anarchy and pillage of the TuAreg, and their rivals, the Fulahs, added to the competition of the European trading ports on the Niger. Askia did not, as Leo seemed to have imagined, reside habitually in Timbuktu, Gogo being his capital. But unless he derived his information regarding Askia's regal state from second-hand information, the king must at the period of one of Leo's two visits (probably within an interval of a few months) have been in the city or its vicinity, as indeed was his custom at that period of his life. Kabara was also one of his favourite residences, but Gogo was most frequently Askia's home.

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(1o) "Books and firearms" were the articles which Barth found most in demand, and to this day the Mogador traders in fitting out caravans for Timbuktu always include MSS. of the Koran and other religious works among their regular merchandise. There are several good libraries in the place, containing many valuable MSS., with the contents of which Europe is now likely to become better acquainted. The exclusion of Jews from Timbuktu continued until the year 1858, when the late Rabbi Mordokhai Abi Serour, of Akka, succeeded in gaining permission to reside and trade in the city; and since that date several of his relatives and co-religionists have established themselves there, and it is understood that many more—now that anarchy is at an end—are likely to become permanent citizens.-Beaumier, Bull. de la Soc. Gdog. Paris, April-May, 1870. The Cowrie currency mentioned by Leo is still in use over a wide extent of the Niger country. To show the approximate value of the shells—Barth bought in Timbuktu, forty years ago, a piece of good bleached calico—"shigge", or "sehem hindi" as it is still called, as it was in Silla more than eight centuries ago (El-Bekri, ed. Slane, 1857, p. 173)—for 13,500 shells, and three pieces of unbleached calico for 8,000 each. Three thousand shells were accounted equal to one Spanish dollar—a much higher rate of exchange than prevailed in Leo's time.

(11) Kabara, the port of Timbuktu, situated on a cul de sac of the Niger, five miles from the city—not "twelve", as in the rather obscure statement of Leo, not improved by his translators—the desert space between the two being known as Ur-immandes ("He-God does not hear") from the fact that people are murdered here without their cries reaching anyone able to succour them. Ibn Batuta, on his visit to "Tomboku" in 1352-53, sailed on the river from Kabara to Gogo. At one time Kabara was even more—important than Timbuktu, but it is nowadays a somnolent village of some 2,000 people, living in dome-shaped houses, and in no way distinguished either by wealth or intelligence. The sanitary condition of the place has not improved since Leo's visit.—See Caron, De Saint Louis au port de Tombouktou (189i), pp. 281, et seq.; Deportes, Extreme Sud de I'Aigdrie, Le
Gourara, Le Touat, In-Sulak, Le Tidikelt, Le Pays de Touaregs, 'Adrar, Tin YRouctou, Agades (1890), pp. 380-413. Askia had many brothers, whom he entrusted with great power, and who requited him better than did his mutinous and almost patricidal sons. Except for Leo's reference to Abu Bakr, surnamed Pergama, they are not known in history. -See, also, for some now obsolete criticisms on certain passages in Leo, Cock, in Adams's apocryphal Narrative, p. I88. 844

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(12) Gogo, Gago, Gagho, Gawo, or Gao, the capital of the Songhai empire, and during Askia's reign a very important place. Makhlled Ibn Kaid.1d (better known as Abu Yezd, the Nekarite), who figured in the revolutions of Northern Africa, was born here. His father, however, came from Tozer for trading purposes, which shows the antiquity of commercial relations between Barbary and the Sudan (Ibn Khaldoun, Hist. des Berb'res, ed. Slane, t. iii, p. 201). Wargla, by which he travelled, and where his son took refuge in A.H. 325 (A.D. 957), Barth regards as the Bakalitis of Ptolemy (lib. iv, c. vii, p. 305, ed. Wilberg), and therefore even more ancient than is supposed. In El-Bekri's time "Gogo" consisted of two towns, one the residence of the King and the Mohammedans, the other the Pagan quarter, though already Islam had made such progress that no one but a Mohammedan could rule. Gogo was at that time the chief market for salt, which was brought from the Berber town of Tautek, distant fifteen days' travel. About a century later (A.D. 1153) Edrisi tells us that the people of Gogo dominated over the surrounding country, and were rich in horses and camels. The great men were clothed handsomely, and wore the "litham", or face covering; while humbler folk dressed in leathern shirts or upper garments. So well advanced were commercial relations between Negroland and North Africa (which Leo affirms began about the close of the tenth century after Christ), that already Gogo did a brisk trade with Augila. About A.D. 1770, the town and principality hitherto ruled by the "Ruma" or descendants of the soldiers left as garrison by Mula! Ahmed Abu-1AbbAs el-Mansur of Morocco in 1590, was taken by the Awleimmeden TuAreg. This spot, from whence the powerful princes whose capital it was, extended their conquests far and near (and at a time when Timbuktu was-what indeed it always has been-a mere trading provincial town), is nowadays a poor place, with few signs of having seen better days. The great mosque in which the victorious Askia is buried has been allowed to fall into ruins, and the private dwellings are little better than hovels. The town seems (as Leo states) never to have been surrounded by a wall, and to have had in its most flourishing days a circumference of something like six miles. But nothing now remains of the palace, which so little impressed Jaudar, the Moorish general, that he wrote to Mulal Ahmed that the house of the Sheikh el-Haram in Morocco was much finer than the palace of the Askia. Indeed, the architecture of Gogo seems to have been on a par with that of the rest of the Niger cities, until they aped that of Barbary, introduced perhaps after Jaudars conquests in A.D. 1588-9 (see Introduction). As the valiant eunuch of Mulai Ahmed wished to accept Ishak Askia's ransom of
I,000 slaves and 10,000 mithkals of gold—a piece of complaisance which cost Jaudar his command—it is just possible that he minimised the modest splendour of Gogo. Leo reached it by sailing

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from Kabara, so that it is absurd to argue that he had never been on the Niger, and was ignorant of its course, simply because he gave its general direction to the Atlantic as westerly (Cock, in Adams's Narrative, p. 191). Rennell's criticism on Leo placing Ghana to the westward of Timbuctu is based on the supposition that Ghana and Kano were identical.-Thomson, Mungo Park, p. 193.
(13) Gober, the most northern of the Haussa states, the home of the Imtm Othman ben-Fodio (Fodiye), by whom the great Fulah revolution, in progress about the time of Mungo Park’s explorations, was brought about. The Goberawa were at one time masters of Air, or Arben. Barth doubts Leo's statements about Askia's later proceedings, being inclined to think that the Moorish traveller had confounded Askia with Kanta, the ruler of Leka, in the province of Kebbi.
(14) For shoes read sandals (calzolai)? Gober was at one time celebrated, as are still some of the Niger towns, for its leather wares.
(15) Agades, on the right bank of the Wad Tilua, is still a prosperous town, the citizens of which possess, as in Leo's day, numbers of male slaves employed on their trading expeditions in the Sudan. Amid many ruins there are still plenty of substantial houses betokening wealth and even culture of the African order. But the palace of the Sultan—"un bel palazzo in mezzo della città"—where he housed his court and a large garrison, seems to have disappeared, since the huge ruin in the southern quarter can scarcely be identified with this building. Of the seventy mosques which are said to have formerly existed, only ten are still in use. Leather working, mat-plaiting, and blacksmithing are carried on here. The iron-work, though barbarous in design, is especially interesting; and in most parts of Africa, as in medioeval Europe, the smith is an important personage.
(16) Agades was at one time regarded as identical with Audaghost, or Aoudarast of Edrisi and of El-Bekri, merely owing to the similarity of the names. But Mr. Cooley (Negroland of the Arabs, p. 6 et seq.) showed this to be erroneous, with which judgment most late commentators agree (De Slane, Rev. Africaine, t. i, p. 289), though whether Auderas (Wateran of Rennell), between Air and Agades, is a safer guess, is not worth discussing (Renou, Exil. Scientifique de l’Algérie, t. ii, p. 327). But Agades, or Egedesh, is a pure Berber word, of frequent occurrence, particularly among the Awleimmeden, and in no way connected with Audaghost. Accornding to Barth (Travels, vol. i, p. 458), the name means "family", and

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is well chosen for a town consisting of mixed elements. Audaghost was, moreover, in existence at the time that el-Bekri wrote—namely, in the eleventh century. When Agades was built is not certain; for Marmol's statement that it was founded 160 years before the time when he wrote (that is to say, 1460) must be
received with some doubt. Otherwise, Leo would have been certain to have noted the fact of a place which he describes with some minuteness being not older than fifty or sixty years when he visited it. But all that he says is:" Agadez una città murata, edificata dai moderni r" by a certain King" being simply a translation of" a quodam Rege", one of the many liberties with the text which Florianus took. Yet in A.D. 1515 the great Askia captured this town, and drove out of it the few Berber tribes who had settled here, establishing in their place most likely a colony of his own people; which explains why, so far from its original centre, a dialect of Songhai language, mixed with Berber elements, is spoken in Agades. In Leo's day the place had not yet undergone the change. But even then he seemed to regard it as a negro town: "The inhabitants are all whiter than other Negroes" (E questa città quasi vicina alla città dei Bianchi piti che alcun'altra de' Negri). Yet though he does not mention Askia's expedition against Agades, he takes note of those against Katsena and Kano, which took place two years earlier, and states that the King of Agades paid a tribute of 150,000 ducats to "the King of Tombuto" (Gogo). Indeed, considering that Leo accompanied his uncle on an official visit to Askia, he seems to have come very little in contact with the great conqueror, if at all, and to have received his information about him largely at second hand; and though the details regarding Askia's proceedings are generally correct, he is at times strangely confused. Thus he mentions that Askia having reigned fifteen (quindici) years, and made peace with his neighbours, went on the Mecca pilgrimage. Yet this event is not correctly stated; for Askia ascended the throne on the 14th Jumad, 898 (A.D. 1493), and went on the Mecca pilgrimage in Safer, 902 (A.D. 1495), returning to Gogo in A.H. 903 (August, 1497-8)-consequently in the fifth (Mohammedan) year of his reign. Yet Leo obtained information, perhaps from later writers, after his return to Barbary, of Askia's expedition against Katsena and the adjoining provinces, which was made in A.H. 919 (A.D. 1513). Consequently, Barth was induced to believe that Leo, in describing Agades, speaks of its condition prior to Askia's expedition of A.D. 1515, a date at which Leo must have completed his Nigerland travels (see Introduction). But as Leo gives us no exact dates it is often impossible to say how far he is speaking as an eye-witness, or how far from more or less trustworthy information picked up among the trader caravans. Leo also describes the king as a Berber; and certainly the unruly, restless character of the Berber population so unlike the easily-governed Negro, is markedly characteristic of the

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TuAreg population of Agades to this day. The tradition of the people is that the city was originally peopled from a small town in the Irallen Valley, of which some vestiges, with two or three 'date trees, remnants of a large plantation, remain to the present day (Barth, Travels, vol. iv, pp. 462-68). Founded evidently as a trading centre more convenient than Tegidda (famous in Ibn Batuta, and Ibn Khaldoun's days for copper, and now for reddish-coloured salt), it speedily attained great prosperity. It -had its own standard weight of gold-the mithkal-which even yet regulates the circulating medium. Thus while the Timbuktu
mithkal is in regard to the Spanish dollar as il to i, the Agades one is only as z. to I. For wholesale business a greater weight was used. This was the "karruive", of which the smaller contained 33 mithkals and a third, equal to 2 rottls and a I 17th, while the larger karruive contained 60 mithkals, equal to 6 rottls and a half. The Sultan is chosen by a compact among the tribes from among a Sherifian family, and lives, not in Agades, but in a Gobes town: this ruler being really the chief of the Tuireg tribes, who are almost constantly at war with each other. Now, as in Leo's time, the Sultan's chief source of revenue is the tax of ten mithkals (four Spanish dollars) on all merchandise-food excepted-entering the town. (" Riceve il re gran rendita delle gabelle che pagano le robe de' forestieri, e anco di quello che nasce nel regno"). At present the population numbers seven or eight thousand, many of whom are always absent on trading expeditions, though the commerce is now inconceivable compared with what it was in former times. Money, or its representative, either in cowries or cloth, is rarely in the market, the standard being millet (Pennisetum tygphoi'deum) durra, or sorghum (Holcus sorghum), (List of prices in Barth, lib. cit., vol. iv, p. 479). Grain is the main object of speculation by the Tuates, who still form the most numerous section of the foreign traders, though not indulging in large transactions; and then in the greater number of cases they are merely the commission agents or middlemen of the Ghadames capitalist. Hence, while well-dressed epicures from Tuat are frequent, wealthy ones are rare. The word "Zingan6" is translated by Temporal as Gypsies (Bomiens ou Egyftiens), and no doubt correctly. The shepherds' huts are built today in the very manner described by Leo.-Walckenaer, Recherches Gdografihiques, etc., pp. 316-320, 449; Richardson, Narrative of a Mission to Central Africa, vol. ii, p. 57 (mainly a summary of Barth's account). (7) Kano, not Ghana or Ghanata of El-Bekri, as at one time generally supposed, the question having been decided by Cooley (Negrolandofthe Arabs, p. 5, et seq.). Kano is still a large busy town, much frequented by traders, especially since the occupation of Katsena

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by the Fulahs in 1807. Barth gives a view of the place in 1850 (Travels, vol. ii, p. i 1o); but considers that in his account of its history Leo confounds Kano with Katsena. In the second half of the sixteenth century the fortress of j)ala, which withstood the Bornuese attack, must have been the only part of Kano in existence. According to Clapperton and Banks's estimate, the modern town may contain from 30,000 to 40,000 inhabitants of a very mixed character; though during the influx of caravans between January and April the number sometimes rises to 60,000. Cotton cloth of native weaving is the chief article of sale, though artificers of various fabrics flourish, and in the bazaar Manchester and Sheffield wares are quite common. The province itself (in the original Leo calls it "una gran provincia") comprises a fertile, well-populated district, the inhabitants being now alternately subject to Bornu and Sokoto, though the governor is practically independent. The conquest of Zezeg, Katsena (Casena) and Kano by Askia is mentioned in such set terms by Leo that it is difficult to accept Barth's doubt
whether the Moorish historian did not confound Askia with Kanta, the ruler of Kebbi. Leo's information must have been secondhand-obtained in an exaggerated form from traders; for Ahmed Baba makes no allusion to any expedition of Askia's three years after his first. Indeed, "such an expedition is", Barth affirms, "wholly impossible, on account of the hostility of Kanta, who made himself independent of Songhay, the second year after the expedition to Katsena (A.D. 1514), and there was no road from Songhay to Kano except through Kebbi".

"Chalk" (creta) should here, as elsewhere, be translated "clay". These Nigritic kings seem to have had at an early date communication with the Portuguese, who about A.D. 1471 sent an embassy to Sonni Ali, asking permission to establish a factory at Wadan (Hoden), which, however, being in too barren a spot and too far from the coast, was soon abandoned. Again, when the Moors took Gogo, they found in that town "a piece of artillery bearing the Portuguese arms, a small image of Our Lady, and a metal crucifix".-Jorge de Mendoza Da Franca, among Pafieles Curiosas, in the Egerton Collection, Brit. Mus. Additional MSS., No. 10,262, p. 235.

(18) Katsena, or Kashna, Kachene, and Cachenah of the older writers, one of the Hansa regions, or, as Leo—who evidently did not know that name—says a kingdom, like Zaria and Kano, speaking the Gober language. But, in affirming that Wangara (Guangara) used the same tongue, he falls into an error; as he does in crediting Meli with the Songhai: he, as a foreigner, was addressed in it by traders and "educated" people. In Leo's day there does not seem to have been any capital in the province of Katsena: nothing but "piccoli casali fatti a guisa di capanne, e tutti tristi". Yet there are lists of Katsena kings dating back to A.H. 600, though perhaps Katsena did not receive the name of the province till it became important about the middle of the sixteenth century of the Christian era, when a number of poor villages coalesced into one town. Katsena-capital and province—is now much decayed. The town fell on evil times with the rest of Kano, while the province—one of the richest portions of Negroland—is now much curtailed since the bulk of it passed into the 'Fulahs' hands.

(i9) The province of Zegzeg under the Governor of Kano.

(20) This custom, which seemed to have tried the faith of some of Leo's readers, is, on the contrary, quite accurately related. In Senegal (just as in Western America and other regions), in order to keep off the mosquitoes, the traveller is compelled to sleep under the lee of a Cc green smoke" in order to obtain some respite from these plagues, or to fill the house with pungent fumes. The late Mr. Joseph Thomson remarks on this passage as an instance of Leo's accuracy. "Even when he seems to draw most upon credulity, he is generally quite accurate: as, for instance, when he describes the people of one district kindling fires at night under their bedsteads to keep themselves warm. To the truth of this statement the writer of these lines can testify from personal observation; the precaution being adopted, however, not to ward off external cold, but that of ague-a disease to
which many places on the Niger are subject at certain times of the year." - Thomson, Mungo Park and the Niger, p. 17.

(21) Zanzara, with its capital Zairmi, is of more importance now than in Leo’s day. It forms part of the Fulah empire, and is better governed than when Clapperton visited it, and found the place a mere asylum for vagabonds from neighbouring states. The province is very ancient, being mentioned by Edrisi when it was much more extensive than at present, half of it being under the Fulah yoke, while the rest was struggled for by the Goberawa and other turbulent neighbours.

(22) Wangara, or Ungara. The Wangarawa or Wakore are a numerous and scattered people, to whom belong the Susa and Eastern Mandingoes, so called. These Wangarawa are found busily engaged in trade all over the Niger country and in Katsena. Barth notes that all the more considerable merchants belong to this nationality.

When Leo states that Abraham, King of Bornu, meditated driving the Wangarawa out of his kingdom, his memory perhaps deceived him. Most probably he refers to Ali ben-Dunama, surnamed for his conquests El-Ghzi, but better known as Mai Ali Ghazideni (A.H. 877909, A.D. 1472-1504). It may have been in this King’s reign that Leo

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visited Bornu, though his son and successor Idris reigned from A.H. 910-932 (A.D. 1504-1526). Barth also learnt from various sources that it was Ali Ghazideni who had to abandon the conquest of Wangara to repulse an invasion of the Bulala (Gaoga—quite different from Gogo). But Omar is probably another lapse of memory for Selma or ‘Abd el-Jell, the father of the prince whom Idris (ut suflira) conquered. The name Omar does not occur in the Bulala dynasty.

(23) Until the reign of Mai Ali Ghazideni the Bornu people, as Leo describes them, lived in temporary encampments in the conquered country. These famous warriors, however, built Birni, or Ghasreggomo, the first capital, though Nanigham (“a certaine large village”) had for some time previously served the purpose, being the usual royal residence. Birni, on the river Wau, three days west of Kukawa, the present capital, is now a ruin six miles in circumference, thickly overgrown with rank grass.

(24) This refers mainly to the Pagan mountaineers, for even in Leo’s day most of the more civilised Kanuri and other races of Bomu must have been as strict Mohammedans are they are at present.

(25) This “puissant prince” must have been Mai Ali Ghazideni. The Kanuri language does not now contain any Libyan (Berber) elements, but the tongue of the conqueror may have been effaced by that of the conquered, just as the Bulala (Gaogo), who in Leo’s time spake Kanuri, have now entirely forgotten it, adopting the language of the Kuka tribe, among whom they founded a dynasty. The Bardoa, a tribe mentioned by Makrizi as Berdoo (between which names and Bernu or Bornu, Borgu, Berdama, Berauni, and Berber, Barth thinks there is an “ethnological connection”) are, however, more nearly allied to the Teda or Tibu than to the Berber or Mazigh. The Sultan Bello expressly traces the Bornu
dynasty to a Berber origin: hence the Hausa people call every Bornu man "ba-
Berbersh" and the Bornu nation "Berbere"; and Makrizi says that it was a
common tradition of the kingdom that they were descended from the Berbers.-
Barth, Travels, vol. ii, p. 269.
(26) Seu, Shawi. See also Cooley, Negroland, p. 129, and Claudius Ptolemy and
the Nile, p. 9.
The "fontaine of Niger" (" capo donde nasce il Niger") is evidently "the Lake of
the Desert of Gaoga", in which he places the sources of that river-Lake Tshad of
more modern explorers. The " Desert of Set" is the easterly portion of the Sahara.
Beside millet (Pennisetum) and durra (Sorghum) in various varieties, Sesamum is
cultivated, and the seeds of a grass (Poa abyssinica?) referred to by Denham, are
extensively eaten.
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(27) Gaoga or Gaogao is the powerful empire of the Bulala dynasty, founded by
the successors of Jil Shikomeni among the Kuka. The similarity of the name to
Gogo, capital of the Songhai empire, has caused much confusion and given origin
to many superfluous theories. Leo's statements, though vague in places, leave no
doubt about its being what the Bornu people know as Bulala. It derived the name
Gaogo (Kaoka) from the Kuka tribe, in whose territory the Bulala of the princely
family of Kanem, guided by Jil (surnamed Shikomeni) ("a certaine Negro slaue"),
founded an empire which at one time stretched from Eastern Bagirmi to the
interior of Darfur. Islam is generally believed not to have been introduced into
Gaoga until the seventeenth century. But Leo speaks of the rulers of the country,
who, like the Kanem princes, were Mohammedans even in Makrizi's timethat is, a
century before Leo wrote.
(28) Goran, Gorham (Marmol), corrupted by Pory, Blome, and other compilers
into Gorham, is Kordofan.
(29) Dongola Aguse, or Old Dongola, the capital of the ancient kingdo m of that
name, then independent, now in ruins, has never recovered from the ravages of
the Mamlukes in 1820 and the rise of New Dongola; the barracks of which are
said to have been built after a plan by Ehrenberg, the famous German Naturalist,
who just then happened to be visiting the Nile Valley.
(30) "Ma le case sono tutte triste, fabricate con creta e pali"-that is, the houses are
all wretched, built of clay and poles-in short, "wattle and daub".
(31) "Molto zibetto e legno di sandalo." But the true sandal wood is not found in
Africa. Sanderswood is sometimes called sandalwood. One of the civets (Viverra
civetta) inhabits North Africa.
(32) This story is apparently one of the legends told by the traders: for there is no
poison known in Africa, much less in Nubia, which at all conforms to this
description.
(33) Leo's account of Nubia is very perfunctory, and to a large extent suspiciously
second-hand. He gives the term a very wide significance; for he makes Nubia to
march with Bornu on the westward, with Kordofan on the south, and on the north
with the Nubian Desert, which four centuries ago seems to have been recognised as about the southern boundary of Egypt. Nubia is thus only a geographical expression, since even at that date it comprised several independent kingdoms, including Kordofan, Darfur, and Dongola. Nor, unless Leo considered the Blue or Abyssinian Nile the main river, is the Nile in any place, even in the driest season, capable of

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being waded. The Zingani of whom he has already spoken cannot be classed with any known people of the region described. From the Italian "Zingani" (gypsies, vagabonds) being used, they are doubtless intended to be described as wanderers, they "speake a kinde of language that no one understandeth". The ethnology of Nubia is, however, very complicated. But though the origin and relationship to the three great stocks inhabiting it are doubtful, their distinctness is clear enough. There are the Arabs, now very mixed, intruders of a comparatively recent date, the Hamitic Ababdeh, and Beja or Bisharin, the "Bugia" of Leo (the Begas of Makrizi, the Bugas of Greek and Axumite inscriptions, perhaps the Buka of the Egyptian hieroglyphs), and the Negro or Negroid Barabira, the nearest relatives of the original Nubos, from whom Nubia derived its name. (Lepsius, Nubische Grammatik, 1880; Reinisch, Die Nuba-Sprache, 1879.) The tongue is therefore correctly described as "mixt ", but it is, of course, absurd to regard the Chaldean as akin to it; though as the Bejas occupy most of the upland country between Upper Egypt and Abyssinia, their language may have some Himyaritic elements in it. The "tribute" they received from the rulers of Dongola and Suakin must have been blackmail.–Keane, Ethnology of the Egyptian Sudan (1884); Burckhardt, Travels in Nubia (1822).

Ziden is Jiddah, Juddah, Jeddah, Djiddah, or Djedda, as it is variously spelt. But in the translation Leo is made to say that both Jeddah and "Zibid" were destroyed. In reality it was only the latter, owing to the Soldan of Egypt (in 1426) being provoked at the Bejas of the town pillaging caravans bound for Mecca, while the ruler (signor) and people of Suakin, helped by the Turks armed with bows and fire-arms, took terrible vengeance on the fugitives who sought refuge in that town:– " Ma da c0to anni in qua, per cagione, che costoro rubaron vna carouana che portaua robba & vettouaglia alla Mecca il Soldano si sdnegro, & mado un' armata pel mar rosso la quale assedio & disfece la detta citt, & il porto di Zibid, che daua loro d' entrata du gento mila saraffi; allhora quelli che fuggirono, incominciarono a girsene a Dangala & Suachin, qualche piccola cosa quadagmando. Ma dipoi il Signor di Suachin, col favor di certi turchi armati di scheoppi & d'archi, gli detto vna rota, perciocchi in vna giornata annazzaron di questa canaglia che andaua nuda, piì che qu4ttro mila persone, e mille ne menarono via a Suachin; i quali furono vccissi dalle femmine & da fanciulli" (Ramusio, ed. 1630, p. 8o b). At the time Suakin wrecked this characteristic vengeance on the Bejawi with whom the inhabitants had many old scores to settle, though the majority of the people belonged then, as still, to that stock–it was
probably under an independent ruler. Like all places on the coast, Suakin was almost invariably under foreigners. Thus, when Ibn

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Batuta visited the place, he found a son of the Amir of Mecca reigning over the Beja, by reason of his mother having belonged to that race, kinship and succession going among these people in the female line. (Makrizi, KHitt., vol. i, p. 194 et seq.; trans. in Burckhardt's Travels in Nubia, App. iii). Makrizi says that the chief inhabitants were nominal Moslems, and were called Hadarib. In 1814 the "Emir of Hadarib" was still sovereign of the mainland, though Suakin had an aga appointed by the Turkish pasha of Jiddah. The place was settled by the Turks on its conquest by Selim I, about A.D. 1517, some years subsequent to Leo's visit. The Circassian Mamluk, El-Ashraf Bursabey, the same who captured Jedda and laid John III of Cyprus under tribute, was the Sultan who destroyed Zibid, or Zaibeth, as it appears on Sanson's maps.

JOHN LEO HIS EIGHT BOOKE OF the Historie of Africa, and of the memorable things contained therein.
Of Egypt.
HE most noble and famous prouince of Egypt bordering westward vpon the deserts of Barca, Numidia, and Libya; eastward vpon the deserts 0 lying betweene Egypt it selfe and the red sea: and northward vpon the Mediterran sea; is inclosed southward with the land of the foresaid people called Bugiha, and with the riever of Nilus. It strecheth in length from the Mediterran sea to the land of the people called Bugiha about fower hundred and fiftie miles: but in brethd Egypt 450 it is very narrow; so that it containeth nought but a small miles long. distance betweene both the banks of Nilus and the barren mountaines bordering vpon the foresaid deserts, being inhabited onely in that place where Nilus is separate from the saide mountaines: albeit towards the Mediterran sea it extendeth it selfe somewhat broader. For Nilus about fower-score miles from the great citie of Cairo is diuided into two branches, one whereof running in his chanell westward, returneth at length into the maine stream from whence he tooke his originall, and hauing passed about

THE EIGHT BOOKE OF THE three-score miles beyond Cairo, diuideth it selfe into two other branches, whereof the one runneth to Damita, and the other to Rosetto. And out of that which trendeth to Damita issueth another branch, which discharging it selfe into a lake passeth through a certaine gullet or streit into the Mediterran sea, vpon the banke whereof standeth the most ancient citie of Tenessel: and this diuision of Nilus into so many streames and branches causeth Egypt (as I haue foresaid) to be so narrow. All this prouince is plaine, and is most fruitfull for all kind of graine and
pulse. There are most pleasant and green meadows, and great store of geese and other fowles. The country people are of a swart and brown colour: but the citizens are white. Garments they wear which are straight down to their waists, and broad beneath, and the sleeves likewise are straight. They couer their heads with a round and high habit called by the Italians a Dulipan. Their shoes are made according to the ancient fashion. In summer they wear garments of particoloured cotton: but in winter they use a certaine garment lined with cotton, which they call Chebre: but the chief citizens and merchants are appareled in cloth of Europe. The inhabitants are of an honest, cheerful, and liberall disposition. For their victuals they use a kinde of newe and extreme salt cheeses, and sour milk also artificially congealed; which fare albeit they account very daintie, yet cannot strangers digest it, and into every dish almost they put sourer milk.

A division of Egypt.

Since the Mahumetans were Lords of Egypt, it hath beene divided into three parts. For the region from Cairo to Rosetto is called the shore of Errif: and from Cairo to the lande of Bugiha it is called Sahid, that is to say, The firme land: but the region adioining upon that branch of Nilus which runneth towards Damiata and Tenesse, they call by the name of Bechria or Maremma. All Egypt is exceeding fertile: but the province of Sahid excelleth the two other parts for abundance of corn, cattle, fowles, and flaxe: and Maremma aboundeth with cotton and sugar. Howbeit the inhabitants of* Maremma and Errif are farre more civil then the people of Sahid: because those two provinces lie neerer vnto the sea, and are more frequented by European, Barbarian, and Assirian merchants: but the people of Sahid haue no conversation with strangers, except it be with a few Ethiopians. Of the ancient pedigree and originall of the Egyptians.

The Egyptians (as Moses writeth) fetch their originall Gen. 10. 6. from *Mesrain the sonne of Cham, the sonne of * Mesraim is recorded to be Chain, the sonne of Noe; and the Hebrewes call both the the brother o Chus, and the countrie and the inhabitants of Egypt by the name Of sonne of ChamMesraim. The Arabians call Egypt it selfe Mesre, but the Chibith. inhabitants Chibith. And Chibith (they say) was the man, that first took vpon him the government of this region, and began first to build houses thereon. Also the inhabitants call themselves by the same name: neither are there left any true Egyptians, besides a fewe Christians, which are at this present remaining. The residue embracing the Mahumetan religion haue mingled themselves amongst the Arabians & the Moores.3 This kingdom was gouerned many yeeres by the Egyptians themselves, as namely by the kings that were called Pharao, (who by their monuments and admirable buildings, seeme to haue beene mightie princes) and also by the kings called Ptolom&ei. Afterward being subdued vnto the Romaine Empire, this kingdome since the comming of Christ was converted vnto the
Christian religion, under the said Roman government: since the decay of which Empire, it fell into the possession of the Emperours of Constantinople; who being very careful to maintain this kingdom, were at 3’

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The towne of Pharao.
The sepulchre of Ioseph.
length deprived thereof by the Mahometans, under the conduct of Hamrus the sonne of Hasi, being appointed captain general over the Arabian armie of Omor the second Califa or Mahometan patriarche of that name: who permitting all men to have their owne religion required nought but tribute at their hands. The said captain built upon the banke of Nilus a certaine towne called by the Arabians Fustato, which word signifieth in their language tabernacle: for when he first undertooke this expedition, he marched through wilde and desert places voide of inhabitants, so that his armie was constrained to lie in tents. The common people call this towne Mesre Hachi, that is to say, the auncient citie; which notwithstanding in comparison of Cairo may not vnfitly be called the New citie- And as concerning the situation of this towne many excellent men both Christians, Iewes, and Mahometans haue in these our times beene deceived. For they thinke Mesre to be situate in the same place where king Pharao in the time of Moses, and king Pharao in the time of Joseph had their abode: because they suppose the towne of Pharao to haue stood in that part of Africa where Nilus stretcheth out one of his armes westward towards Africa, and where the Pyramides are as yet to be seene: which the holy Scripture also seemeth to auouch in the books of Genesis, where it is said, that the Iewes in Moses time were employed about the building of the town of Aphthun, which was founded by Pharao: namely in that place where Nilus trendeth towards Africa, being about fiftie miles southward of Cairo, and neere vnto the most westerly arm or branch of Nilus. They allege also another probabilitie, that the towne of Pharao was built in the same place, because that at the verie head or confluence of the branches of Nilus there standeth a building of maruellous antiquitie, called the sepulchre of Joseph, wherein the dead bodie of Ioseph lay, till it was by the

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Jewes transported vnto the sepulchre of their fathers. To be briefe, neither Cairo nor any place neere vnto it, can by any likelyhood chalenge that they were at any time inhabited by the ancient Pharaos. But here it is to be noted, that the nobilitie of the ancient Egyptians dwelt in times past in the region of Sahid beyond Cairo, in the cities of Fium, of Manfichmin, and in other such famous cities. Howbeit after Egypt was conquered by the Romans, the Egyptian nobilitie planted themselves in the region of Errif, vpon the sea shore thereof, namely about the cities of Alexandria, Rosetto, and other famous townes retayning as yet the Latine names. Also when the Roman Empire was translated into Greece, the said nobilitie still inhabited vpon the sea-shore, the Emperors lieutenant residing at
Alexandria: but after the Mahumetans got the dominion of Egypt, the foresaide nobilitie retired themselues into the inland, hoping thereby to reape a double commoditie: namely first in that they might be a meanes to pacifie the kingdome on both sides of them, and secondly that they might be free from the invasions of the Christians, whereof they should haue beene in danger, had they remained any longer vpon the sea coast.

Of the qualitie and temperature of the ayre in Egypt.

T He ayre of this countrey is hot and vnholesome: and it raineth here verie seldome or neuer. And raine is the cause of many diseases in Egypt: for in rainie weather some of the Egyptians are subject vnto dangerous rheumes and feuers: and others vnto a strange kinde of swelling in their priuie members: which swelling the Phisicians impute vnto salt-cheese and beefe, which are the common diet of the Egyptians. In sommer time this countrey is most extremely hot, for a remedie of which heat they build in euerie towne certaine high towers, hauing one doore aloft, and another beneath, right ouer 312

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against the houses, through the tops whereof the winde passing downward, doth somewhat coole and refresh the ayre: otherwise in regard to the intollerable heat of the sun it were impossible for any man to liue there. SomeExtreme pestil- time the pestilence is so hot among them, especially lence, at Cairo, that almost euery day there die twelue thousand The French persons thereof But with the French poxe I thinke maladie most rfe in Egypt. that no other countrey vnder heauen is so molested, nor that containeth so many people infected therewith.7 About the beginning of Aprill they reape their come, and hauing reaped it, they presently thrash the same; neither shall you see one eare of their corne standing till the twentith of May. The inundation or overflow of Nilus beginneth The increase of about the middest of June, increasing afterward for the Nilus, space of fortie daies, and for the space of other fortie daies also decreasing: during which time all the cities and townes of Egypt are like vnto Ilands, which none can come vnto but by boates and barges. At this time also Nilus is verie fit to be sayled vpon with vessels of burthen; some whereof are so big that they will containe sixe thousand bushels of corne, and an hundreth head-cattell: and in these vessels they sayle onely downe the streame: for against the streame it were impossible for them to passe emptie. The Egyptians according to the increase of Nilus doe foresee the plentie or dearth of the yeere following: as we will more at large declare, when we come to speake of the island of Nilus ouer against the olde citie, where the inundation of Nilus is measured. Neither is it our purpose in this place particularly to describe all the cities of Egypt, because our African writers are of diuers opinions thereabout; for some would haue Egypt to be a part of Africa, but others are of a contrarie minde. Diuers there are that affirme that part of Egypt adjoyning vpon the deserts of Barbarie, Numidia, and Libya, to belong vnto Africa. Some others ascribe vnto Africa all those places 86o
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that border vpvn the principall and maine chanel of Nilus: but as for other places, as namely Manf, Fium, Semenu, Damanhore, Berelles, Tenesse, and Damiatata, they thinke them not to be situate in Africa: which opinion I my selfe also vpvn many and great reasons take to be true. Wherefore my purpose is to describe none other cities but such as stand neere the maine and principall chanell of Nilus.
Of the citie of Bosiri.
The ancient citie of Bosiri built by the Egyptians vpvn the Mediterran sea, and standing twenty miles westward from Alexandria, was in times past enuironed with most strong walles, and adorned with most beautifull and stately buildings. At this present it is compassed with many possessions or grounds bearing dates, whereof no man taketh charge nor reapeth any commoditie: for when Alexandria was woon by the Christians, the inhabitants abandoned this citie, and fled towards the lake called Buchaira.
Of the great citie of Alexandria in Egypt.
The great citie of Alexandria in Egypt founded by Alexander the great, not without the aduise of most famous and skilfull architects, vpon a beautifull point of land stretching into the Mediterran sea, and being distant 4o. miles westward of Nilus,9 was in times past, till it grew subject vnto the Mahumetans, most sumptuously and strongly built, as diuers and sundry authors bear record. Afterward this citie decaying many yeeres together, was depriued of the ancient renownme and honour, and remained in manner desolate, because no merchants of Greece, nor of any other part of Europe exercised any longer traffique therein. Howbeit a certaine craftie Mahumetan patriarke made the rude people beleue, that by the prophecie of Mahumet most ample indulgences were granted vnto all

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such as would inhabite the citie or garde it for certaine dales, and would bestow some almes for a publike benefite: by which wilie stratagem the citie was in short time filled with forren people, which from all places resorted thereunto: by whom were built many houses neere Vnto the citie-walles, and many colleges of students, and diuers monasteries for the reliefe of pilgrims.'0 The citie it selfe is fower square, and hath fower gates to enter in at: one standing on the east side to~vards Nilus, another on the south side towards the lake of Buchaira, the third westward towards the desert of Barca, and the fourth towards the Mediterran sea, and the hauen; whereat stand the searchers and customers, which ransacke strangers euen to their verie shirts: for they demaund custome not onely for wares and merchandize, but also some allowance in the hundred for all kinde of money. Neere vnto the citie-walles there are two other gates also, being diuided asunder by a faire walke, and a most impregnable castle, which standeth vpon the stand or wharfe of the port commonly called Marsa el Bargi, that is to say, the port of the castle: in which port ride the principall and best ships, namely such as come from
Venice, Genoa, Ragusa, with other ships Ancient traf- of Europe. For hither resort the English, the low Dutch, nations in Europe for traffiques sake. Howbeit this port is most usuall frequented by the ships of Appulia, Sicilia, and of Greece, which are Turkish ships; all which resort into this harbour to saue themselfes from pirates, and from tempestuous weather. Another port there is also called Marsa Esil Sela, that is to say, the port of the chaine, wherein the ships of Barbarie, namely those of Tunis & of the isle of Gerbi harbor themselfes." The Christians are constrained to pay about the io. part for all wares that they bring in & carie out, but the Mahumetans pay but the 20. part: and whatsoever wares

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are caried by land to Cairo pay no custom at all. And at this present that part of the citie which is next vnto Cairo is the most famous and best furnished with merchandize brought by merchants from all places of the world. The other parts of this city are destitute both of ciuitie & inhabitants: for except one long street, and that part of the citie nextthe hauen which is full of merchants shops, & inhabited by christians, the residue is void and desolate. Which desolation happened at that time, when Lewis the fourth king of France being restored to libertie by the Soldan, the king of Cyprus with a fleet partly of Venetians & partly of Alexandria surprised and Frenchmen suddenly assailed Alexandria, and with great socked by the king of Cyprus. slaughter surprized and sacked the same. But the Soldan comming with an huge armie to rescue Alexandria, so discouraged the Cyprians, that they burnt downe the houses thereof and betooke themselves to flight. Whereupon the Soldan repairing the walles, and building a castle neere vnto the hauen, the citie grew by little and little into that estate, wherein it standeth at this present. In the citie of Alexandria there is a certaine high mount fashioned vnto the place called Testaccio at Rome, whereon, although it hath no naturall situation, are found diuers earthen vessels of great antiquitie. Vpon the top of the said mount standeth a -turret, where a certaine officer is appointed to watch for such ships as direct their course towards the citie, who for euery ship that he giueth notice of vnto the customers, receiveth a certain fee: but if he chanceth to fall asleep, or be out of the way at the arriuall of any ship, whereof he certifieth not to the customers, he paieth double for his negligence into the Soldans exchequer. Vnder each house of this citie there is a great vaulted cesterne The water of Nilus brought built upon mightie pillers and arches: whereinto the water by a sluce into Pf Nilus at euery inundation is conueied vnder the walles Alexandria. of the citie, by a certaine woonderfull and most artificiall sluce standing without the city it selfe. But these cesternes

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growing sometime corrupt and fowle, are often in summer the occasion of many
diseases and infirmities. This citie standeth in the midst of a sandie desert, and is
destitute of gardens and vines, neither is the soil round about it apt to beare corne
; so that their corne is brought them from places fortie miles distant. Howbeit
neere the foresaid sluce, whereby the water of Nilus is conueied into the citie, are
certaine little gardens, the fruits whereof being growen to ripenes are so
vnholesome, that they breed feuers and other noisome diseases among the
citizens. Sixe miles westward of Alexandria, among certaine ancient buildings,
standeth a piller of a woonderfull height and thicknes, which the Arabians call
Hemadussaoar, that is to say, the piller of trees. Of this piller there is a fable
reported, that Ptolemey one of the kings of Alexandria built it upon an extreme
point of land stretching from the hauen, whereby to the end he might defend the
citie from the inuasion of forren enemies, and make it inuincible, he placed a
certaine steeleglasse upon the top thereof, by the hidden vertue of which glasse as
many ships as passed by while the glasse was vncovered should immediately be
set on fire; but the said glasse being broken by the Mahumetans, the secret vertue
thereof vanished, and the great piller whereon it stood was remooued out of the
place. But this is a most ridiculous narration, and fit for babes to giue credit vnto.
At this present there are amongst the ancient inhabitants of Alexandria many
Christians called Iacobites, being all of them artizans & merchants : these
Iacobites haue a church of their own to resort vnto, wherein the body of S. Mark
the Euagelist lay in times past interred, which hath since beene priuily stolne by
the Venetians, & carried vnto Venice. And the said Iacobites pay tribute vnto the
gouernour of Cairo.15 Neither is it to be passed ouer in silence, th at in the midst
of the ruinous monuments of Alexandria there remaineth as yet a certaine little
house
Certaine Christians called Iacobites.

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built in forme of a chappell, and containing a sepalchre much honoured by the
Mahumetans, wherein they affirme out of the authoritie of their Alcaron, that the
bodie of the high prophet and king (as they terme him) Alexander the great lieth
buried. And thither resort yeerely great multitudes of pilgrimes from forren
nations,to adore and reverence the said sepalchre, and oftentimes to bestow large
almes thereupon.16 Other things woorthie the noting I purposely passe ouer, least
I should seeme too tedious vnto the reader.
Of the citie of Bochin.
T His ancient and small citie situate in times past vpon
the Mediterran sea shore eight miles eastward of Alexandria, lieth at this time
utterly desolate, nought remaining thereof, but certaine ruines of the walles. It is
now planted with date-trees, wherewith the poore inhabitants dwelling in base and
solitarie cottages sustaine themselves. Neere vnto this citie standeth a towre vpon
a certaine dangerous rocke, against which many ships of Syria being driuen in the
night, doe suffer shipwracke, because they cannot in the darke finde the right
course to Alexandria. Round about this citie there are no fields but sandie deserts euen to the riuere of Nilus.

Of the citie of Rasid called by the Italians Rosetto.

The citie of Rosetto was built by a slaue of a certaine Mahumetan' patriarke and gouernour of Egypt, vpon the easterne banke of Nilus three miles from the Mediterran sea, not farre from the place where Nilus dischargeth his streames into the said sea. It containeth most beautifull houses and palaces built vpon the shore of Nilus, and'a faire market-place, enviromoned on all sides with shops- of merchants and artizans, with a stately and sumptuous temple also, hauing some gates towards the

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market-place, and others toward Nilus, and certaine commodious staires to descend into the same riuere. Neere vnto the temple there is a certaine harbour for the safetie of ships and barks of burthen that carrie wares vnto Cairo: for the citie being unwalled resembleth a village rather then a citie. About this citie stands diuers cottages, wherein they vse to thrash rice with certaine wooden instruments, & to make ready each moneth three thousand bushels thereof. A little farther from this citie there is a place like vnto a village, wherein great store of hackneymules, and asses are kept for travellers to ride vpon vnto Alexandria : neither neede the travellers to guide the saide hackneyes, but to let them run their ordinarie course, for they will goe directly to the same house or inne where they ought to be left: and their pace is so good, that they will from sunne-rising to sunne-set carrie a man fortie miles : they trauell alwaies so neere the sea-shore, that sometimes the waues thereof beat vpon the hackneyes feete. Neere vnto this citie are many fields of dates, and grounds which yeeld aboundance of rice. The inhabitannts are of a cheerfull disposition and courteous to strangers, especially to such as loue to spend their time in iollitie and disport.

Here is a stately bath-stoue also, hauing fountaines both of cold and hot water belonging thereunto, the like whereof for stately and commodious building is not to be found in Iohn Leo was Egypt besides. I my selfe was in this citie when Selim the at Rasid the same time when great Turke returned this way from Alexandria, who with Selim the great Turkpassed his priuate and familiar friends beholding the said baththat way, stoue, seemed to take great delight and contentment therein.9

Of the citie called Anthius.

This citie was built vpon the easterne banke of Nilus by the Romans, as many Latin inscriptions engrauen in marble, and remaining til this present do beare

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sufficient record. It is a beautifull and well-gouverned citie, and is furnished with
men of all kinde of trades and occupations. The fields adjacent abound with great
plentie of rice, corne, and dates. The inhabitants are of a cheerfull and gentle
disposition, and gaine much by rice which they transport vnto Cairo.20
Of the citie of Barnabal.
T His citie was founded at the same time when the
Christian religion began to take place in Egypt, vpon the ea-sterne banke of Nilus,
in a most pleasant and fruitfull place. Here is such abundance of rice, that in the
citie there are more then fower hundred houses for the thrashing and trimming
thereof. But they that impose this task vpon the inhabitants, are men of forren
countries, and especially of Barbrarie, which are so lasciously and riotously
given, that almost all the harlots of Egypt resort hither vnto them, who shaue off
their haires to the very bones without any cizzers or rasors.21
Of the citie of Thebe.
B Y whom this ancient citie of Thebe standing vpon
the westerne banke of Nilus should be built, our African chroniclers are of sundry
opinions. Some affirme it to be built by the Egyptians, some by the Romans, and
others by the Grecians, because there are as yet to be seene most ancient
monuments, partly in Latine, partly in Greeke, and partly in Egyptian characters.
Howbeit at this present it containeth but three hundred families in all, being most
of them very stately and sumptuously built.23 It aboundeth with come, rice, and
sugar, and with certaine fruits of a most excellent taste called Muse.24 It is also
TKefruits furnished with great store of merchants and artificers : but called Muse.
the most part of the inhabitants are husbandmen : and if a man walke the streetes
in the day-time he shall see none
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but trim and beautifull women. The territorie adiacent aboundeth with date-trees
which grow so thicke, that a man cannot see the citie, till he appreheseth nigh vnto
the wallis. Here grow likewise store of grapes, figs, and peaches, which are
carried in great plentie vnto Cairo.
Without the citie there are many ancient monuments, as namely pillers,
inscriptions, and walles of a great thicknes built of excellent stone, and such a
number of ruinous places, that this citie seemeth in times past to haue beene
very large.
Of the citie of Fuoa.
T His citie being distant about 45. miles southward from
Rosetto, was built by the Egyptians on the side of
Nilus next vnto Asia. The streetes thereof are narrow, being otherwise a well
governed and populous citie, and abounding with all necessarie commodities.
Heere are likewise very faire shops of merchants and artificers, albeit the
inhabitants are much addicted vnto their ease and pleasure. The women of this
towne liue in so great libertie, that they may go whither they will all the day-time,
returning home at night without any controlement of their husbands. The fields
adjacent abounde greatly with dates, and neere vnto them there is a certaine plaine
which is very apt for sugar and come: howbeit the sugar canes there bring not
forth perfect Sugar sugar, but in steede thereof a certayne kind of honie like
sope, which they vse throughout all Egypt, because there
is but little other hony in the whole countrey25
Of Gezirat Eddeheb, that is to say, the golden Isle.

O Ver against the foresaid city the rier of Nilus maketh an Isle, which being
situate on an high place, bringeth forth all kinde of fruitefull trees except Oliues.
Vpon this Island are many palaces and beautifull buildings,

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which cannot be seene through the thicke and shadie woods. The soile of this
Island being apt for sugar and rice, is manured by most of the inhabittants, but the
residue are imploied about carrying of their merchandize vnto Cairo.26
Of the citie of Mechella.
T His citie builte by the Mahumetans in my time vpon
the easterne shore of Nilus, and enuironed with a lowe wall, containeth great store
of inhabitants, the most part of whom being either weauers or husbandmen, are
voide of all curtesie and ciuilitie. They bring vp great store of geese which they
sell at Cairo; and their fields bring foorth plentie of corne and flaxe.2
Of the citie of Derotte.
W Hen Egypt was subject to the Romaine empire, this
towne was built also vpon the easterne banke of Nilus: which as it is very
populous, so is it adorned with stately buildings and large streets, hauing
merchants shops on either side of them. They haue a most beautifull temple, and
the citizens are exceeding rich: for their grounde yeeldeth such abundance of
sugar, that they pay Great abunyeerely vnto the Soldan an hundred thousande
peeces of danceofSugar. golde, called in their language Saraffi, for their libertie of
making and refining thereof. In this citie standeth a certayne great house like vnto
a castle, wherein are their presses and caldrons, for the boiling and preparing of
their sugar. Neither did I euer in all my life see so many workemen employed
about that busines, whose daily wages (as I vnderstood by a certayne publike
officer) amounted to two hundred Saraffi28

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Of the citie called Meckellat Chais.
. THe Mahumetans hauing conquered Egypt, built this
1 citie vpon an high hill standing by the westerne
banke of Nilus. The fields of this citie being high ground, are apt for to plant vines
vpon, because the waters of Nilus cannot ouerflow them. This towne affoordeth
new grapes vnto Cairo, almost for halfe the yeere long: but the inhabitants are
vnciuill people, being most of them watermen and bargemen.29
A description of the huge and admirable citie of Cairo.
G Airo is commonly reputed to be one of the greatest
and most famous cities in all the whole world. But
leaving the common reports & opinions thereof, I will exactly describe
the forme and estate wherein it now standeth. And that I may begin with the Etymology or derivation of the name,
Cairo is an Arabian word, corruptly pronounced by the people of Europe: for the true Arabian word is El Chahira, which signifieth an enforcing or imperious mistresse.30 This city built in ancient times by one Gehoar Chetib a Dalmatian slave (as I haue before signified in the beginning of my discourse) containeth within the walls not above eight thousand families, being inhabited by noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants that sell wares brought from all other places. The famous temple of Cairo commonly called Gemih Hashare, that is to say, the glorious temple, was built also by the foresaid slave, whom we affirmed to be the founder of the city, and whose surname was Hashare, that is to say, famous, being given him by the Mahumetan patriarch that was his prince.2 This city standeth upon a most beautiful palace, neere unto a certain mountain called Mucatun about two miles distant from Nilus, and is enuironed with stately wals, and fortified with iron gates: the principall of which gates is called Babe Nanfre, that is, the gate of victory, which standeth eastward towards the desert of the red sea; and the gate called Beb Zuaila being next vnto the old citie and to Nilus; and also Bebel Futuh, that is to say, the gate of triumph, standing towards the lake and the fieldes. And albeit Cairo aboundeth euerie where with all kinde of merchants and artificers, yet that is the principall streeete of the whole citie which stretcheth from the gate of Nanfre to the gate of Zuaila; for in it are builte most stately and admirable palaces and colleges, and most sumptuous temples, among which is the temple of Gemith Elhechim the third schismaticall Califa of Cairo. Other temples there are of a maruellous bignes, which to describe in particular, I thinke it superfluous. Here are many bathstoues also very artificially built. Next of all is the streeete called Beinel Cassain containing to the number of threescore cooks or victualers shops, furnished with vessels of tinne: there are certaine other shops also, wherein are to be solde delicate waters or drinkes made of all kinds Of Delicate drinks made of all fruits, being for noblemen to drinke of, and these waters kind fruits. they keepe most charily in fine vessels, partly of glasse, and partly of tinne: next vnto these are shops where diuers confecions of hony and sugar, vnlke vnto the confecions of Europe, are to be sold: then follow the fruiiterers shops, who bring outlandish fruits out of Syria, to wit, quinces, pomegranates, and other fruits which grow not in Egypt: next vnto them are the shops of such as sell egges, cheese, and pancakes fried with oile. And next of all there is a streeete of the principall artificers shops. Beyond which streeete standeth a college built by the Soldan Sodan called Ghauri, who was slaine in a battaile against Selim Gauri, the great Turke. And next vnto the college are diuers rankes of drapers shops. In the first ranke there is most
outlandish linnen cloth to be sold, as namely fine cloth of cotton brought from Balabach, and cloth called Mosall

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brought from Ninou of a maruellous bredth and finenesse, whereof noblemen and others of account haue shirts made them, and scarffes to weare vpon their Dulipans. Besides these there are certaine mercers shops where the rich stuffes of Italy, namely silke, damaske, veluet, cloth of golde, and such like are to be bought, vnto which stuffes I never sawe anie comparable (to my remembrance) in Italy, where they vse to be made. Next vnto the mercers are the woollen drapers which bring cloth out of Europe, as namely from Florence, Venice, Flanders, and other places. Next of all there are chamblets to be sold: and from thence the way lieth to the gate of Zuaila, at which gate dwell great store of artificers. Neere vnto the saide way standeth the famous Burse called Canel Halili, wherein the Persian merchants dwell. It is built very stately in maner of a kings palace, and is of three stories high: beneath it are certaine conuenient roomes whither merchants for the exchange of rich and costly wares do resort: for heere do the principall and most wealthie merchants abide; whose wares are spices, precious stones, cloth of India, and such like. Next vnto the Burse standeth a streete of shops where all kinde of perfumes, namely ciuet, muske, amber, and such like are to be sold: which commodities are heere in so great plentie, that if you ask for twentie pounds of muske they will presently shewe you an hundred. Next followeth the streete of the paper merchants where you may buie most excellent and smooth paper: heere also are to be sold iewels and precious stones of great value, which the brokers carrie from one shop to another. Then come you to the goldsmiths streete being inhabited for the most part by Iewes, who deale for riches of great importance. And next vnto the goldsmiths are certaine streets of vpholsters or brokers, who sell the apparell and rich furniture of noblemen and other citizens at the second hande; which are not cloakes,

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coates, napery, or such like, but things of exceeding price and value: amongst which I my selfe once sawe a beautifull pauilion embrodered with needle-worke, and beset with pearles that weighed fortie pounds, which pearles being taken out of it were solde for ten thousand Saraffi. In this citie also there is a most stately hospital built by 4statelyhspiPi 45: tall. Piperis the first Soldan of the Mamalucks race: the yearly revenues whereof amount vnto two hundred thousand Saraffi. Hither may any impotent or diseased persons resort, and be well prouided of phisitions, and of all thinges necessarie for those that are sicke, who if they chance to die heere, all their goods are due vnto the hospitall.

Of the suburb called Beb Zuaila.
T His great suburbe belonging vnto Cairo, and containing
about twelve thousand families, beginneth at the gate of Zuaila, and extendeth westward almost a mile & a halfe; southward it bordereth vpon the palace of the Soldan, and stretcheth northward for the space of a mile vnto the suburbe called Beb Elloch. Heere dwell as many noble men and gentlemen almost, as within the city it selfe; and the citizens haue shops both heere and in the citie, as likewise many inhabitants of this suburbemaintaine families in the citie also. Amongst all the buildings of this suburbe the principall is that stately college built by Soldan Hesen, being of such a wonderfull height and great strength, that oftentimes the colleges haue presumed to rebell against the Soldan, and therein to fortifie themselves against the whole citie, and to discharge ordinance against the Soldans castle which is but halfe a crosse-bowe shot distant.

Of the suburbe called Gemek Tailon.

This huge suburbe confining eastwarde vpon the foresaid suburbe of Beb Zuaila extendeth westward to certaine ruinous places neere vnto the olde citie. Before the foundation of Cairo this suburbe was erected by one Tailon, who was subject vnto the Califa of Bagdet, and gouernour of Egypt, and was a most famous and prudent man. This Tailon leauing the old citie, inhabited this suburbe, and adorned the same with a most admirable palace, and sumptuous temple. Heere dwell also great store of merchants, and artificers, especially such as are Moores of Barbaric.

Of the suburbe called Beb Elloch. This large suburbe being distant from the wals of Cairo about the space of a mile, and containing almost three thousand families, is inhabited by merchants, and artizans of diuers sorts as well as the former. Vpon a certaine large place of this suburbe standeth a great palace and a stately college built by a certaine Mammaluck called Iaz bach, counseller vnto the Soldan of those times; and the place it selfe is called after his name Iazbachia. Hither after Mahumetan sermons and deuotions, the common people of Cairo, together with the baudes and harlots, do vsually re sort; and many stage plaiers also, and such as teach camels, asses, and dogs, to daunce: which dauncing is a thing very delightfull to behold, and especially that of the asse: who hauing frisked and daunced a while, his master comes vnto him and tels him with a loude voice, that the Soldan being about to builde some great palace, must vse all the asses of Cairo to carrie morter, stones, and Thzese asses are other necessarie prouision. Then the asse falling presently somewhat like to Banks his to the ground, and lying with his heeles vpward, maketh curtall, that plaidhis prizes his belly to swell, and closeth his cies as if he were starke ozuengan dead. In the meanwhile his master lamenting the misfortune of the asse vnto the standers by, earnestly craueth their friendly assistance and liberalitie to buie him a newe asse. And hauing gathered of each one as much money as he can get; you are much deceiued my masters (quoth
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he) that thinke mine asse to be dead: for the hungrie jade knowing his masters necessity hath wrought this sleight, to the end he might get some money to buie him prouender. Then turning about to the asse, he commandeth him with all speede to arise: but the asse lyeth starke still, though he command and beate him neuer so much: whereupon turning againe to the people, Be it knowen (quoth he) vnto you all, that the Soldan hath published an edict or proclamation, that to morrow next all the people shall go forth of the citie to beholde a triumph ; and that all the honourable and beautifull ladies and gentlewomen shall ride vpon the most comely asses, and shall giue them otes to eate, and the christ all water of Nilus to drinke. Which words being scarce ended, the asse suddenly starteth from the ground, prancing & leaping for ioy : then his master prosecuting still his narration; but (saith he) the warden of our streete hath borrowed this goodly asse of mine for his deformed and olde wife to ride vpon. At these wordes the asse, as though hee were indued with humaine reason, coucheth his eares, and limpeth with one of his legges, as if it were quite out of Joint. Then saith his master ; What, sir Iade, are you so in loue with faire women? The asse nodding his head seemeth to say, yea. Come on therefore sirra (quoth his master) and let us see among all these prettie damosels, which pleaseth your fancie best. Whereupon the asse going about the companie, and espying some woman more comely and beautiful then the rest, walketh directly vnto her and toucheth her with his head: and then the beholders laugh and crie out amaine: Lo, the asses paramour, the paramour of the asse. Whereupon the fellow that shewed all this sport leaping vpon the backe of his asse rideth to some ,other place.50 There is also another kinde of charmers or Soothsaying juglers, which keepe certaine little birds in cages made irds. after the fashion of cupboords, which birds will reach vnto

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any man with their beaks certaine skroules contayning either his good or euill successe in time to come. And whosoever desireth to know his fortune must giue the bird an halfepenie: which shee taking in her bill carrieth into a little boxe, and then comming foorth againe bringeth the said skroule in her beake. I my selfe had once a skroule of ill fortune giuen me, which although I little regarde, yet had I most vnfortunate successe then was contained therein. Also there are masters of defence playing at all kinde of weapons, and others that sing songs of the battels fought betweene the Arabians and Egyptians, whenas the Arabians conquered Egypt, with diuers others that sing such toyes and ballads vnto the people.5′

Of the suburb called Bulach.

T His large and ancient suburb of Cairo standing two miles distant from the walles of the citie vpon the banke of Nilus, containeth fower thousand families. Vpon the way lying betweene the suburb and this citie, stand diuers houses, and mils turned about by the strength of beasts. In this suburb dwell many artificers and merchants, especially such as sell corne, oyle, and
sugar. Moreover it is full of stately temples, palaces, and colledges: but the fairest
buildings thereof stand along the river Nilus, for from thence there is a most
beautifull prospect upon the river, and thither do the vessels and barkes of Nilus
resort unto the common stathe of Cairo being situate in this suburb: at which
place you shall see at some times, and especially in the time of harvest, above
woe, barkes. And here the officers appointed to receive custome for wares
brought from Alexandria and Damiata haue their aboad: albeit but little tribute be
demau nded for the said wares, because it was payd before at the port of their
arruall: but those wares that come out of the firme land of Egypt allow entire
custome.52

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Of the suburb called Charafa.

The suburbe of Carafa built in manner of a towne, and
standing from mount Muccatim a stones cast, and from the walles of the citie
about two miles, containeth almost two thousand households. But at this day the
greatest part thereof lyeth waste and destroyed. Here are many sepulchres built
with high and stately vaults and arches, and adorned on the inner side with diuers
emblemes and colours, which the fond people adore as the sacred shrines, 
&m

monuments of saints, spreading the pauement with sumptuous and rich carpets.
Hither euery friday morning resort out of the citie it selfe and the suburbs, great
multitudes of people for deuotions sake, who bestow liberall and large almes.53

Of the old citie called Mifrulketich.

This citie being the first that was built in Egypt in the
time of the Mahumetans, was founded by Hamre captaine generall ouer the forces
of Homar the second Muahmetan patriarke vpon the banke of Nilus, resembling a
suburb because it is vnwalled, and containing to the number of flue thousand
families.54 It is adorned, especially by the river Nilus, with diuers palaces and
houses of noblemen, and also with the famous temple of Hamre55 being of an
huge bignes, and most stately built. It is also indifferently well prouided of
tradesmen and artificers. And here standeth the famous sepulchre of a woman
reputed most holy by the Mahumetans, and called by them Saint Nafissa, which
was the SaintNqfssa. daughter of one called Zenulhebidin being the sonne of
Husein, the son of Heli, who was cousin-german vnto Mahumet. The said Nafissa
seeing all of her family to be depruied of the Mahumetan patriarchship, left Cufa a
citie of Arabia Felix, and came and dwelt in this citie;877

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partly because she was of the linage of Mahumet, and partly for that she Hued an
innocent and blamelesse life, the people after her death ascribed diuine honours,
canonizing her for a Saint. Wherefore the schismaticall patriarks of her kinred
hauing got the vpper hand in Egypt, began to build for Nafissa most beautifull
shrine or sepulchre, which they adorned also with silver-lamps, with carpets of
silke, and such like precious ornaments. So great is the renowne of this Nafssa,
that there commeth no Mahumetan either by sea or land vnto Cairo, but hee adoreth this sepulchre, and bringeth his offering thereunto, as likewise doe all the Mahumetans inhabitating thereabout: insomuch that the yeerely oblation and almes offered at this sepulchre, partly for the relieve of the poore kinsfolkes of Mahumet, and partly for the maintenance of the priests which keep the saide sepulchre, amount vnto io0oo0. Saraffi: which priests by fained and counterfeit miracles do dayly delude the mindes of the simple, to the ende they may the more inflame thir blinde deuotion, and may stirre them to greater liberalitie. When Selim the great Turke woone the citie of Cairo, his Janizaries rifling this sepulchre, found there the summe of 500000. Saraffi in readie money, besides the silver-lampes, the chaines, and carpets : but Selim tooke away a great part of that treasure from them. Such as write the Hues of the Mahumetan saints, making very honourable mention of this Nafissa, say that she was descended of the noble family of Heli, and that she was most famous for her vertuous and chast life: but the fonde people and the priest of that excercrable sepulchre haue devised many fained and superstition miracles. In this suburbe also neere vnto the riuer of Nilus is the customers office for such wares as are brought out of the Prouince of Sahid. Without the walled citie stand the magnificent and stately sepulchres of the Soldans, built with admirable and huge arches. But in my time

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a certaine Soldan caused a walke to be built between two high wals from the gate of the citie to the place of the aforesaid sepulchres, and at the endes of both wals caused two turrets of an exceeding height to be erected for marks and directions vnto such merchants as came thither from the port of mount Sinai. About a mile and an halfe from the saide sepulchres in a certaine place called Amalthria there is a garden containing the onely balme-tree, (for in The jlace wheare balme whole world besides there is not any other tree that beareth groweth. true balme) which balme-tree growing in the midst of a large fountaine, and hauing a short stocke or bodie, beareth leaues like vnto vine-leaues, but that they are not so long ; and this tree (they say) would utterly wither and decay, if the water of the fountaine should chance to be deminished. The garden is enuironed with a strong wall, whereinto no man may enter without the speciall fauour and licence of the gouernor. In the midst of Nilus, ouer against the old citie, standeth the isle called Michias,60 that is to say, The isle of measure, in which isle (according to the inundation of Nilus) they haue a kinde of deuise inuented by the ancient Egyptians, whereby they most certainly foresee the plentie or scarcitie of the yeere following throughout all the land of Egypt. This island is well inhabited and containeth about 1500. families; vpon the extreme point or ende whereof standeth a most beautifull palace built in my remembrance by a Soldan, and a large temple also, which is verie pleasant in regard of the coole streames of Nilus. Vpon another side of the Island standeth an house alone by it selfe, in the midst whereof The manner of measuring the there is a fouresquare cestern or chanell of eighteene cubits increase of deepe, whereinto the water of Nilus is conueied by a Nilus. certaine sluce vnder the
ground. And in the midst of the cestern there is erected a certaine piller, which is
marked Thispilleris fecalled by Plinie
and diuided into so many cubits as the cesterne it selfe Niloscopium. containeth in
depth. And vnpon the seuenteenth of June when
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Nilus beginneth to overflow, the water thereof conueied by the said sluce into the
chanell, increaseth daily, sometimes two, and sometimes three fingers, and
sometimes halfe a cubite in height. Vnto this place there dayly resort certaine
officers appointed by the Senate, who viewing and obseruing the increase of
Nilus, declare vnto certaine children how much it hath increased, which children
wearing yellow skarffes vpon their heads, doe publish the saide increase of Nilus
in euerie streete of the citie and the suburbs, and receiue gifts euerie day of the
merchants, artificers, and women so long as Nilus increaseth. The foresaid deuise
or experiment of the increase of Nilus is this that followeth. If the water reacheth
only to the fifteeth cubit of the foresaide piller, they hope for a fruitfull yeere
following : but if it stayeth betweene the twelfth cubit and the fifteenth, then the
increase of the yeere will proue but meane: if it resteth betweene the tenth and
twelfth cubits, then it is a signe that corne will bee solde tenne ducates the
bushell. But if it ariseth to the eighteenth cubite, there is a like to follow great
scarcitie in regarde of too much moisture: and if the eighteenth cubite be
surmounted, all Egypt is in danger to be swallowed up by the inundation of Nilus.
The officers therefore declare unto the children the height of the riuier, and the
children publish the same in all streetes of the citie, charging the people to feare
God, and telling them how high Nilus is increased. And the people being astonied
at the woonderfull increase of Nilus, wholy exercise themselues in priayres, and
giuing of almes. And thus Nilus continueth fortie daies increasing and fortie
daies decreasing; all which time corne is sold very deere, because while the
inundation lasteth, euery man may sell at his owne pleasure: but when the eighthth
day is once past, the clerke of the market appointeth the price of all victuals, and
especially of corne, according as he knoweth
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by the foresaid experiment, that the high and lowe grounds of Egypt haue
receiued either too little, or too much, or conuienient moisture: all which
customes and ceremonies being duely performed, there followeth so great a
solemnitie, and such a thundring noise of drums and trumpets throughout all
Cairo, that a man would suppose the whole citie to be turned vside downe. And
then euery familie hath a barge adorneed with rich couerings and carpets, and with
torch-light, and furnished with most daintie meates and confectiones, wherewith
they solace themselves. The Soldan also with all his nobles and courtiers resorteth
vnto that sluce or conduct, which is called the great conduct, and is compassed
round about with a wall, who taking an axe in his hand breaketh the said wall, and
so doe his nobles and courtiers likewise: insomuch that the same part of the wall
being cast downe which stopped the passage of the water, the river of Nilus is so swiftly and forcibly carried through that conduct and through all other conduct and sluices in the city and the suburbs, that Cairo at that time seemeth to be another Venice; and then may you rowe over all places of the land of Egypt. Seven days and seven nights together the foresaid festival solemnitie continueth in Cairo; during which space the merchants and artificers of the citie may (according to the custome of the ancient Egyptians) consume & spend in torches, perfumes, confections, musique, & such like iollities, all their gains that they have gotten the whole yeere past. Without the citie of Cairo, near unto the suburb of Ben Zuaila, standeth the castle of the Soldan upon the side of the mountaine called Mochattan. This castle is environed with high and impregnable walles, and containeth such stately and beautifull palaces, that they can hardly be described. Paved they are with excellent marble, and on the roofes they are gilt and curiously painted, their windowes are adorned with

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The attire of the women of Cairo.

divers colours, like to the windowes of some places of Europe; and their gates be artificially carued and beautified with gold and azure. Some of these palaces are for the Soldan and his familie: others for the familie of his wife, and the residue for his concubines, his eunuches, and his garde. Likewise the Soldan had one palace to keepe publique feastes in; and another wherein to giue audience vnto forren ambassadours, and to exalt himselfe with great pompe and ceremonies: and another also for the governours and officials of his court. But all these are at this present abolished by Selim the great Turke.

Of the customes, rites, and fashions of the citizens of Cairo.
The inhabitants of Cairo are people of a merrie, iocund, and cheerefull disposition, such as will promise much, but performe little. They exercise merchandize and mechanicall artes, and yet trauell they not out of their owne natvie soile. Many students there are of the lawes, but very few of other liberall artes and sciences. And albeit their colleges are continually full of students, yet few of them attaine vnto perfection. The citizens in winter are clad in garments of cloth lined with cotton: in summer they weare fine shirts: ouer which shirts some put on linnen garments curiously wrought with silke, and others weare garments of chamblet, and vpon their heads they carrie great turbants couered with cloth of India. The women goe costly attired, adorning their foreheads and necks with frontlets and chaines of pearle, and on their heads they weare a sharpe and slender bonet of a span high, being very pretious and rich. Gownes they weare of woollen cloth with streite sleeues, being curiously embrodered with needle-worke, ouer which they cast certaine veiles of most excellent fine cloth of India. They couer their heads and faces with a kinde of blacke scarfe,
through which beholding others they cannot be seen themselves. Upon their feet they wear fine shoes and pantofles, somewhat after the Turkish fashion. These women are so ambitious & proud, that all of them disdain either to spin or to play the cookes: wherefore their husbands are constrained to buy victuals ready drest at the cookes shops: for very few, except such as have a great familie, vse to prepare and dresse their victuals in their owne houses. Also they vouchsafe great libertie unto The libertie of the women of their wives: for the good man being gone to the tauerne Cairo, or victualling-house, his wife tricking vp her selfe in costly apparell, and being perfumed with sweet and preutious odours, walketh about the citie to solace her selfe, and parley with her kinsfolk and friends. They vse to ride vpon asses more then horses, which are broken to such a gentle pace, that they goe easier than any ambling horse. These asses they couer with most costly furniture, and let them out vnto women to ride vpon, together with a boy to lead the asse, and certaine footmen to run by. In this citie, like as in diuers others, great store of people carrie about sundrie kindes of victuals to be solde. Many there are also that sell water, which they carrie vp and downe in certaine leather bags vpon the backs of camels: for the citie (as I said before) is two miles distant from Nilus. Others carrie about a more fine and handsome vessell with a cocke or spout of brasse up on it, hauing a cup of Myrrhe or christall in their hands, and these sell water for men to drinke, and for ever draught they take a farthing. Others sell young chickens and other fowles by measure, which Birds hatched after a strange they hatch after a woonderfull and strange manner.62 manner in Egypt. They put great numbers of egges into certaine ouens built upon sundrie loftes, which ouens being moderately het, will within seuen daies convert all the said egges into chickens. Their measures are bottomlesse, which being put into the basket of the buier, and filled full of chickens, 883

THE EIGHT BOOKE OF THE they lift vp, and so let the chickens fall into the basket.68 Likewise such as buie those chickens hauing, kept them a few daies, carry them about to sell againe. The cookes shops stand open very late: but the shops of other artificers shut up before ten of the clocke, who then walke abroad for their solace and recreation from one suburbe to another. The citizens in their common talke vse ribald and filthie speeches: and (that I may passe ouer the rest in silence) it falleth out offtentimes that the wife will complaine of her husband vnto the judge, that he doth not his dutie nor contenteth her sufficiently in the night season, whereupon (as it is permitted by the Mahumetan law) the women are diuorced and married vnto other husbands. Among the artizans whosoeuer is the The reward of first inuentour of any new and ingenious deuise is clad in a new and ingenious deuises. garment of cloth of gold, and carried with a noise of musitians after him, as it were in triumph from shop to shop, hauing some money giuen him at euery place. I my selfe once saw one carried about with solemnne musicke and with great pompe and triumph, because he had bound a flea in a chaine, which lay before him on a peecce of paper for all men to behold. And if
any of them chance to fall out in the streetes, they presently goe to buffets, and then a great number of people come flocking about them to see the conflict, and will not depart thence, till they have reconciled them. Their most usual food is buffles flesh and great store of pulse: when they goe to dinner or supper, if their familie be little, they lay a short and rounde table-cloth: but if their houshold be great, they spread a large cloth, such as is used in the hallles of princes. Amongst the sundrie sectes of religion in this citie, there is one sect of the Moores called Chenesia: and this sect liueth vpon horse-flesh, so that their butchers when they can heare of any halting or lame iade, buy him foorthwith, and set him vp a fatting, and hauing killed him, the said

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sect of Chenesia come and buy vp his flesh handsmothe. This sect is rife also among the Turkes, the Mamaluks, and the people of Asia; and albeit the Turkes might freely vse the foode before-mentioned, yet doe they not inure themselves thereunto. In Egypt and in the citie of Cairo there are permitted fower seuerall sectes, differing each from Fower seuerall sects of the other both in canon and ciuill lawes: all which sects haue Makumetan religion pertheir originall from the religion of Mahumet. For there mitted in the citie of Cairo.

were in times past fower men of singular learning, who by subtiltie and sharpnesse of wit, founde out a way to make particular deductions out of Mahumets generall preceptes. So that each of them would interpret the opinions of Mahumet according to their owne fancie, and would eueri man apply them to his owne proper sense; and therefore they must needes disagree much betweene themselves: howbeit growing famous among the common people in regard to their diuers canons & precepts, they were the first authors and founders of the saide fower sects: any one of which whatsoever Mahumetan professeth, cannot renounce the same at his pleasure and embrace another sect, vnless he be a man of deepe learning, and knoweth the reasons and allegations of both parts. Also there are in the citie of Cairo fower principall iudges, who giue sentence onely vpon matters of great importance: vnder which fower are substituted other inferiour iudges, in euerie streete of the citie, which decide petie contentions and brabbles. And if the parties which are at controuersie chance to bee of diuers sects, the plaintife may summon and conuent the defendant before the iudge of his streete: howbeit the defendant may, if he will, appeale from him vnto the highest iudge of all, being placed ouer the fower principall iudges aforesaid, and being gouernour of the sect called Essasichia; and this high iudge hath authority to dispense withal or to disanul the decrees of the fower principal, and of all the other inferiour iudges, according

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as he shall see cause. Whosoeuer attempteth ought against the canons and precepts of his owne religion, is seuerely punished by the iudge of the same
religion. Moreouer, albeit the priests of the foresaid sects differ very much, both in their formes of Liturgie or praiyer, and also in many other respects, yet do they not for that diuersitie of ceremonies hate one another, neither yet do the common people of sundrie sects fall to mutinie & debate: but men indeed of singular learning & much reading confer oftimes together, & as in priuate each man affirmeth his owne sect to be the best, so likewise do they confirm their opinions by subtile arguments, neither may any man vnder paine of greeuous punishment reproch any of the saide fower ancient doctors. And in verie deed they all of them follow one and the same religion, to wit, that which is prescribed in the canons of Hashari the principall doctor of the Mahumetans, which canons go for currant ouer all Africa, and most part of Asia, except in the dominions of the great Sophi of Persia66; who bicause he reiecteth the saide canons, is accounted by other Mahumetans an heretike, and a schismatike. But how such varietie of opinions proceeded from the fowre doctors aforesaid, it were tedious and troublesome to rehearse: he that is desirous to knowe more of this matter, let him read my Commentaries which I haue written concerning the lawe and religion of Mahumet according to the doctrine of Malich,17 who was a man of profound learning, and was borne at Medina Talnabi, where the body of Mahumet lieth buried: which doctrine of Malich is embraced throughout all Syria, Egypt, and Arabia: wherewith if any man be delighted, let him peruse my foresaide Commentaries, and they will satisfie him to the full. Vpon malefactors they inflict most greeuous and horrible punishment, especially vpon such as haue committed any heinous crime in the court. Theeues they condemn to the halter.

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A murther committed trecherously they punish in manner following: the executioners assistants take the malefactor one by the head, and another by the feete, and then comes the chiefe executioner with a two-hand sword, and cutteth his body in twaine, the one part whereof adioining to the head is put into a fire full of vnslaked lime: and it is a most strange and dreadfull thing to consider, howe An horrible kind of executione the same dismembred and halfe body will remaine alieuen in tioon. the fire for the space of a quarter of an hower, speaking and making answer vnto the standers by. But rebels or seditious persons they fleas alieue, stuffing their skins with bran till they resemble mans shape, which being done, they carrie the saide stuffed skins vpon camels backs through every streete of the citie, and there publish the crime of the partie executed: then which punishment I neuer sawe a more dreadfull, by reason that the condemned partie liueth so long in torment: but if the tormenter once toucheth his nauel with the knife, he The nauel presently yeeldeth vp the ghost: which he may not do being cut is presetye eeepresent death. vntill he be commanded by the magistrate standing by.68 If any be imprisoned for debt, not hauing wherewithall to satisfie the same, the gouernour of the prison paieth their creditors, and sendeth them, poore wretches, bound in chains, & accompanied with certaine keepers, daily to begge almes from streete to streete, all which almes redoundeth to the gouernor, and he alloweth the saide prisoners very bare maintenance to liue upon. Moreouer there
go crying vp and downe this citie certaine aged women, who (though that which they say in the streetes cannot be understood) are notwithstanding inioined by their office to circumcise women according to the prescript of Women cirMahumet: which ceremonie is obserued in Egypt and cumcised. Syria.69
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John Leo was thrise in Egypt.
The Mamaluks.
Of the manner of creating the Soldan, and of the orders, degrees, and offices in his court.
The dignitie and power of the Soldan was in times past I exceeding great; but Selim the great Turke in the yeere of Christ (if I be not deceiued) 1517. ytterly abolished the saide dignitie, and changed all the customes and lawes of the Soldan. And bicause it hath beene my hap thrise to trauell into Egypt since the saide woonderfull alteration befell, I suppose it will not be much beside my purpose, if I set downe in this place such particulars as I know to be most certaine true concerning the court of the Soldan. Vnto this high dignitie was woont to be chosen some one of the most noble Mamaluks. These Mamaluks being all Christians at the first, and stolne in their childhoode by the Tartars out of the province of Circassia which bordereth vpon the Euxin sea, and being solde at Caffa a towne of Taurica Chersonesus, were brought from thence by certaine merchants vnto the citie of Cairo, and were there bought by the Soldan ; who constraining them forthwith to abiture and renounce their baptisme, caused them to be instructed in the Arabian and Turkish languages, and to be trained vp in militarie discipline, to the end they might ascend from one degree of honour to another, till at last they were advanced vnto the high dignitie of the Soldan. But this custome whereby it was enacted, that the Soldan should be chosen out of the number of such as were Mamaluks and slaues by their condition, began about 250. yeeres sithens, whenas the family of the valiant Saladin (whose name was so terrible vnto Christians) being supported but by a fewe of the kinred, fell to ytter decay and ruine.71 At the same time when the last king of Jerusalem was determined to sacker the citie of Cairo, which also in regard of the sloth and cowardize of the Mahumeran Califa then raigning ouer it, intended to make it selfe tributary vnto
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the same king, the iudges and lawyers of the citie with the consent of the Califa, sent for a certaine prince of Asia called Azedudin, of the nation of Curdu, (the people whereof Hue in tents like the Arabians) which Azedudin together with his sonne Saladin, came with an armie of fiftie thousand horsemen. And albeit Saladin was inferiour in age vnto his father, yet in regard of his redoubted valour, and singular knowledge in militarie affaires, they created him generall of the field, and gaue him free libertie to bestow all the tributes and reuenues of Egypt, as himselfe shoulde thinke expedient. And so marching at length against the
Christians, he got the victorie of them without any bloudshed, and draue them out of Ierusalem and out of all Syria. Then Saladin returning backe with triumph vnto Cairo, had an intent to vsurpe the gouernment thereof: whereupon hauing slaine the Califa his guard (who bare principall swaie ouer the Egyptians) he procured the death also of the Califa himselfe, being thus bereft of his guard, with a poisoned cup, and then forthwith submitted himselfe vnto the patronage of the Califa of Bagdet, who was the true & lawful Mahumetan prelate of Cairo. Thus the iurisdiction of the Califas of Cairo (who had continued lords of that citie by perpetuall succession for the space of two hundred and thirty yeeres) suceased, and returned againe vnto the Califa of Bagdet, who was the true & lawfull gouernour thereof. And so the schismaticall Califas and patriarks being suppressed, there grew a contention between Saladin and the Soldan of Bagdet, & Saladin made himselfe a soueraigne of Cairo, bicause the saide Soldan of Bagdet being in times past prince of the provinces of Mazandran and Euarizin situate vpon the riuver Ganges, and being borne in a certaine countrey of Asia, laide claime notwithstanding, vnto the dominion of Cairo, and intending to wage warre against Saladin, he was restrained by the Tartars of Corasan, who

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The originall of the Mamaluks.
made invasions and inrodes vpon him. Saladin on the other side fearing least the Christians in reuenge of the foresaid iniury would make an expedition into Syria, and considering that his forces were partly slain in the former warres, and partly consumed by pestilence, except a few which remained for the defence and safeguard of his kingdome, began to employ himselfe about buying of slaues that came from Circassia, whom the king of Armenia by those daies tooke and sent vnto Cairo to be sold: which slaues he caused to abuire the Christian faith and to be trained vp in feats of warre and in the Turkish language, as being the proper language of Saladin himselfe: and so the saide slaues within a while increased so exceedingly both in valour and number, that they became not onely valiant souldiers and skilfull commaunders, but also gouernours of the whole kingdome. After the decease of Saladin, the dominion remained vnto his family 150. yeeres, and all his successours obserued the custome of buying slaues of Circassia: but the family of Saladin growing at length to decay, the slaues by a generall consent elected one Piperis a valiant Mamaluk of their owne companie to be their soueraigne Lord and Soldan: which custome they afterward so inuiolably kept, that not the Soldans owne sonne nor any other Mamaluk could attaine vnto that high dignitie, vnless first he had beene a Christian, and had abiu red his faith, and had learned also exactly to speake the Circassian and Turkish languages. 

Insomuch that many Soldans sent their sonnes in their childhood in to Circassia, that by learning the language and fashions of the countrey they might prooue in processe of time fit to beare soueraigne authoritie ; but by the dissenstion of the Mamalukes they were alwaies defeated of their purpose. And thus much briefly concerning the gouernment of the Mamaluks, and of their Princes, called euen till this present by a word of their owne mother-toong by the
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names of Soldans: let vs now speake of the honourable degrees and dignities
inferiour to the Soldanship.

Of the principall Peere next vnder the Soldan called Eddaguadare.
T His man being in dignitie second vnto the Soldan,
and beeing, as it were, his viceroy or lieutenant, had authoritie to place or displace
any magistrates or officers ; and maintained a family almost as great as the family
of the Soldan himselfe.72

Of the Soldans officer called A mir Cabir.
T His man hauing the third place of honour was Lord
generall ouer the Soldans militari forces ; who was by office bound to leauie
armies against the forraine enemie, especially against the next Arabians, and to
furnish the castles & cities with conuenient garisons ; and also had authority to
dispand the Soldans treasure vpon such necessarie affaires as hee thought good.73

Of Nai Bessan.
HE fourth in dignitie after the Soldan called Nai TBessan, beeing the So ldan his
lieutenant in Syria, and gathering vp all the tributes of Assiria bestowed them at
his owne discretion, & yet the Soldan himselfe was to place garrisons in the
castles and forts of those prouinces. This Nai Bessan was bound yerly to pay
certaine thousands of Saraffi vnto the Soldan.74

Of the Ostadar.
He fift magistrate called the Ostadar, was the great
master or steward of the palace; whose duetie was to prouide apparell for the
Soldan, with victuals and other necessaries for his whole family. And vnto this
dignitie 3L2

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the Soldan vsed to aduance some one of his most ancient, honourable, and
vertuous nobles, vnder whose tuition himselfe had in times past beene trained
up.75

Of the Armiri Achor.
T HE sixt called the Amiri Achor, was master of the
horse and camels ; and distributed them vnto each man in court, according to his
degree.76

Of the A miraif
T HE seuenth office was performed by certaine principall Mamalukes, being like
vtnto the Colonels of Europe; euerie of whom was captnae of a thousand inferiour
Mamaluks ; and their office was to conduct the Soldans forces against the enemie,
& to take charge of his armour.77

Of the Amirmia.
THE eight degree of honour was allotted vnto certaine
centurions ouer the Mamalukes ; who were continually to attend vpon the Soldan,
either when he road any whither, or when he exercised himselfe in armes.
Of the Chazendare.

The ninth person was the treasurer, who made an account unto the Soldan of all tributes and customs of his kingdom, disbursing money for the daily and necessarie expenses of the Soldans household, and laying vp the rest in the Soldans castle.

Of the Amirsileh.

The tenth called the Amirsilek had the armour of the Soldan committed to his charge, which being contained in a great armorie was to be scoured, furbushed, and renewed at his discretion, for which purpose he had sundrie Mamaluks placed vnder him.

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Of the Testecana.

The eleventh called the Testecana was master of the Soldans wardrobe, and tooke charge of all such robes and apparell as were deliured vnto him by the Ostadar or high steward of the Soldans household; which robes he distributed according to the appointment of the Soldan; for whomsoever the Soldan promoted vnto any dignitie, him he apparelled also. All the said garments were of cloth of gold, of veluet, or of silke: and whither soever the Testecana went, he was attended upon by a great number of Mamaluks. Certaine other officers there were also: as namely the Serbedare, whose duetie was to prouide delicate drinke for the Soldan, and to haue alwaies in a readiness most excellent compound waters tempered both with sugar and with spices. Moreover there were other officers called * Farrasin, that is, diuers chamber- * There is such an officer in the laines, who furnished the place of the Soldan with rich court of England called, hangings and carpets, and made prouision also of torches The Master o the Reuells.

and tapers of waxe mixed with amber, which serued both to shew light, and to yeeld most fragrant and odorous smels. Others there were also called Sebabathia, to wit, the footemen of the Soldan: and certaine others called Taburchania, which were the Soldans Halbardiers, who attended upon his person when he road forth, or sate in publique audience. Adauia were those that tooke charge of the Soldans carriages whithersoever he travelled: out of which number there was a master-hangman or executioner chosen; and so often as any malefactors were to be punished, all his companions stood by him to learne his bloodye occupation, namely of flaying and skinning men aliove, and of putting them to the torture, to make them confess their crimes. And Esuha were the Soldans foote-postes that carried letters from Cairo into Syria, and travellers on foote threescore miles a day, because that

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between Egypt and Syria there is neither mountainous nor mirie way, but a continuall sandie plaine: howbeit such as carried letters of serious & weightie matters road vpon camels.87

Of the Soldans militarie forces.
O F soldiers or martiall men the Soldan had fower degrees. The first called Caschia were certaine horsemen, & were most valiant and expert warriours: out of which number the Soldan chose gouernours ouer his cities and castles. Some of these were allowed their stipend in readie money out of the Soldans treasurie, and others out of the tributes of townes and castles. The second called Eseifia were a companie of footmen, bearing no armes but swords only, who likewise had their pay allowed them out of the Soldans treasurie. The third called Charanisa being voluntaries or such as serued gratis, had no other pay but onely their victuals allowed them; but when any Mamaluke deceas ed that was well prouided for, some one of them supplied his roume. The fourth and last of al called Galeb, were the yoong and new-come Mamaluks, being as yet ignorant of the Turkish and Egyptian languages, and such as had shewed no experiment of their valour.88

Of certaine other great officers and magistrates in the Soldans common-wealth.
Of the magistrate called the Nadheasse.
HE was as it were the Soldans chiefe receiuer; for all the tributes and customes of the whole kingdome came through his hands, and were paid from him vnto the treasurer. Also he was customer of Cairo, by which office he gained infinite summes of mony: neither could any

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man attaine vnto this office, vnlesse he first paid vnto the Soldan an hundred thousand Saraffi, which he recouered againe within sixe moneths following.89

Of the Cketebeessere.
T His man being the Soldans secretarie, and writing letters, and making answere on the Soldans behalfe, did (besides his secretariship) take notice and account of all the land-tributes in Egypt, and receiued the particular summes from the collectors thereof.90

Of the Muachih.
T His was a secretarie also, but inferiour to the former, and yet more trustie vnto the Soldan. His office was to reuiew the letters and briefes pened by the former, and to examine whether they were agreeable vnto the Soldans minde, and also in the name of the Soldan to subscribe vnto them. But the other hath so many cunning and expert scribes about him, that the Muachih seldomhe cancelleth any of his writings.91

Of the Mutesib.
His mans office was to set a price vpon corne and all T other victuals ; which price partly according to the increase of Nilus, and partly also according to the resort of ships and other vessels out of the prouinces of Errif and Sahid he either diminished or inhaunsed, and vpon the offenders imposed such penalties as the
Soldan thought good to appoint. Being at Cairo, I understood that the said Mutesib got daily by his office about a thousand Saraffi; having his ministers and substitutes not only in Cairo, but in all other cities and places of Egypt.92

THE EIGHT BOOKE OF THE OYRAMIDES.

The oyramides.

Of the Amir d Cheggi.

The office of the Amir el Cheggi93 being of no lesse charge, then dignitie, was imposed by the Soldan vpon one of his most sufficient and wealthie Mamaluks: vnto whom was committed the conduct of the carouan, which went euery yeere from Cairo to Mecca. Which dutie he could not performe without great expences of his owne purse, for being guarded with a companie of Mamalukes, he must trauell with maiesticall pompe and costly diet, expecting no recompence for his exceeding charges either at the hands of the Soldan, or of the passengers which he conducted. Other offices and dignities there are, which I thinke needlesse to rehearse.

Of the citie of Geza.

The citie of Geza being situate vpon the banke of Nilus, ouer against the old citie before mentioned, and being separated therefrom by the foresaid Island of Nilus, is a very populus and ciuile place, and is adorned with many sumptuous palaces built by the Mamaluks, whither they vse to retire themselves out of the throng and multitude of Cairo. Here are likewise great store of artificers and merchants, especially such as buie cattell brought from the mountaines of Barca, the drouers of which cattell being Arabians, do sell their ware in this citie vnto the merchants and butchers of Cairo, to the end they may auoide the trouble of passing ouer the riuer. The temple and other principall buildings of this citie stand vpon the shore of Nilus. On all sides of the citie there are gardens and grounds of dates. Such as come hither in the morning from Cairo to buy and sell, vse not to returne home againe till the euening. This way they trauell ouer a sandie desert vnto the Pyramides, and sepulchers of the ancient Egyptian kings, in which place they affirm the stately citie of

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Memphis to have stand in times past. And albeit the The citie of Mempk—is. way thither be very troublesome in regard of the manifold lakes and pits made by the inundation of Nilus, yet by the direction of a trustie and expert guide it may easily be trauailed.94

Of the towne of Muthallaca.

This little towne built vpon the banke of Nilus, by the ancient Egyptians, and standing three miles from the olde citie, hath a most beautifull temple situate vpon the shore of Nilus, and diuers other stately buildings therein. It aboundeth with dates and with certaine fruities called Egyptian figs; and the inhabitants vse the very same Egyptian figs. rites and customs that are obserued by the citizens of Cairo.95
Of the citie of Chanca.
The great citie of Chanca situate about sixe miles from Cairo, at the verie entrance of the desert lying in the way to mount Sinai, is replenished with most stately houses, temples, and colleges. All the fields betweene Cairo and this citie abound with great plente of dates: but from Chanca to mount Sinai, which is an hundred and fortie miles, there are no places of habitation at all. The inhabitants are but of meane wealth: for when any carouan is to passe into Syria, hither resort a company of people from Cairo, to prouide things necessarie for their iourney, because the villages adjoyning yeeld nought but dates. Through this citie lie two maine roade-waies, the one leading to Syria, and the other to Arabia. This citie hath no other water but such as remaineth in certaine chanels after the inundation of Nilus; which chanels being broken, the water runneth forth into the plaines, and there maketh a number of small lakes, from whence it is conueighed backe by certaine sluices into the cesterns of the citie.

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Of the citie of Muhaisira.
The little citie built vpon the riuer of Nilus, 30. miles eastward of Cairo, aboundeth greatly with the graine Store of the or seed called Sesama, and containeth sundrie milles to graine called Sesama. grinde oile out of the same seede. The inhabitants are most of them husbandmen, except a fewe that exercise trade of merchandise.

Of the towne of Benisuaif.
The towne being situate on the west side of Nilus, is distant from Cairo 120. miles. The plaines adiacent Most excellent abound exceedingly with flaxe and hempe, which is so hempe, excellent, that it is carried from thence as farre as Tunis in Barbarie. And this towne furnisheth all Egypt with flaxe, whereof they make very fine and strong cloth. The fields of the same are continually wore & diminished, and especially at this present, by the inundation of Nilus, for now their date-groundes are halfe consumed. The inhabitants for the most part are emploied about their flaxe. Crocodiles. And beyond this towne there are found Crocodiles that will eate mans flesh, as we will declare in our historie of liuing creatures.

Of the citie of Munia.
Vpon the same side of Nilus standeth the faire citie of V Munia, which was built in the time of the Mahumetans by one Chasib a lieutenant and courtier of the Califa of Bagdet, vpon an high place. Here are most excellent grapes, and abundance of all kinde of fruite, which albeit they are carried to Cairo, yet can they not come thither fresh and newe, by reason that this citie is distant from Cairo an hundred and fower-score miles. It is adorned with most stately temples and other buildings: and here are to be seene at this present sundry ruines of the ancient
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Egyptian buildings. The inhabitants are rich, for they trauaile for their gaine as farre as Gaoga, a kingdome of the land of Negros.

Of the citie of El Fium.
T His ancient citie was founded by one of the Pharaos vpon a little branch of Nilus, and on a high ground, at the same time when the Israelites departed out of Egypt, whom the said Pharao greatly oppressed with making of bricke, and with other seruile occupations. In this citie they say that Joseph the sonne of Jacob was buried, and Te Plae where loseph that his bones were digged vp by Moses and the Israelites was buried, when they departed. Fruits heere grow great plentie, and especially oliues, which are good to eate, but vnprofitable to make oile of. It is a well gouerned and populous citie, and containeth many artificers especially weauers.

Of the citie of Mans Loth.
T His great and ancient citie was built by the Egyptians, destroied by the Romaines, and reedified by the Mahumetans, but not in so stately manner as it was first built. At this present there are found certaine huge and high pillers and porches, whereon are verses engrauen in the Egyptian toong. Neere vnto Nilus stand the ruines of a stately building, which seemeth to haue beene a temple in times past, among which ruines the citizens finde sometimes coine of siluer, sometimes of gold, and sometimes of lead, hauing on the one side hielygraphick notes, and on the other side the pictures of ancient kings. The fields adiacent being very fruitefull, are extremely scorched by the heate of the sunne, and much haunted with Crocodiles, which was the occasion (as some thinke) why the Romaines abandoned this citie. The inhabitants are men of indifferent wealth, for they exercise traffike in the land of Negros.

Of the citie of Azioth.
T His ancient city founded by the Egyptians vpon the banke of Nilus two hundred and fiftie miles from Cairo, is most admirable in regard to the hugenes, and of the varietie of old buildings and of epitaphes engrauen in Egyptian letters ; although at this present the greatest part thereof lyeth desolate. When the Mahumetans were first Lords of this city it was inhabited by honorable personages, and continueth as yet famous in regard of the nobilitie and great wealth of the citizens. There are in this citie almost an hundred families of christians, & three or fower churches still remaining: and without the citie standeth a monasterie containing mo then an hundred monks, who eate neither flesh nor fish, but onely herbes, bread, and oliues. And yet haue they daintie cates without any fatte among them. This monasterie is very rich, and giueth three daies entertainment to all strangers that resort thither, for the
welcomming of whom they bring vp great store of doues, of chickens, and of such like commodities.102
Of the citie of Ichmin.
I Chmin being the most ancient city in all Egypt, was built by Ichmin the son of *Misraim, the sonne of Chus, which was the son of *Hen, vpon the banke of Nilus next vnto Asia, and three hundred miles eastwarde from Cairo. This citie the Mahumetans, when they first began to vsurpe ouer Egypt, so wasted and destroyed, for certaine causes mentioned in histories, that besides the foundations and rubbish they left nought remaining: for, transporting the pillers and principall stones vnto the other side of Nilus, they built thereof the citie called Munsia, even as we will now declare.103

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Of the citie of Munsia.
M Vnsia therefore, founded on the other side of Nilus, by the lieutenant of a certaine Califa, hath no shew of comelines or beautie, by reason that all the streetes are so narrow. And in sommer-time there riseth so much dust from the ground, that a man can hardly walke the streetes. It aboundeth, notwithstanding, with corne and cattell. It was once subject vnto a certaine African prince of Barbarie, whose name was Haoara, and whose predecessors were princes and gouernours of Haoara. Which city (they say) was giuen him in regarde of a singular benefite which hee did vnto the foresaide Dalmatian slaue that founded Cairo: howbeit I cannot be perswaded that the gouernment remained so long a time vnto that familie. But in our time Soliman the ninth Turkish emperour deprevied them of the same gouernment.04
Of the monasterie called Georgia.
T His was in times past a famous monasterie of Christians, called after the name of Saint George, and being sixe miles distant from Munsia. It was inhabited by more than two hundred monkes, who enjoying large territories, possessions, and reuennues, shewed themselues curteous and beneficall vnto strangers ; and the ouerplus of their yeerely reuennues was sent vnto the patriarke of Cairo, who caused the same to be distributed amongst poore Christians : but about an hundred yeeres ago, all the monks of this monasterie died of a pestilence, which spred it selfe ouer all the land of Egypt. Whereupon the prince of Munsia compassed the saide monasterie with a wall, and erected diuers houses for artificers and merchants to dwell in. And being allured by the pleasant gardens situate amidst the beautifull hils, he himselfe went thither to

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Emeralds.
Antonio Galuano maketh large mention of this citie, inhabit: but the patriarke of the Iacobites making his mone vnto the Soldan, the Soldan caused another monasterie to be built in the same place, where in times
past the old citie stooed; & assigned so much allowance thereunto, as might 
maintaine thirty monks. 105
Of the citie of Chian.
T His little citie of Chian was built in times past neere 
unto Nilus by the Mahumetans, which notwithstanding is not nowe inhabited by 
them, but by the christias called lacobites, who employ themselues either in 
husbandrie, or in bringing vp of chickens, geese, and doues. There remaine as yet 
certaine monasteries of Christians, that giue entertainment to strangers. But 
Mahumetans (besides the gouernour and his family) there are none at all. 16
Of the citie of Barbanda.
Arbanda founded by the Egyptians vpon Nilus, about 
fower hundred miles from Cairo, was laide so waste by the Romaines, that 
nothing but the ruines thereof remained, most of which ruines were carried vnto 
Asna, whereof we will foorthwith intreate. Amongst the saide ruines are to be 
found many pieces of golde and siluer coine, and sundrie fragments of Smaragds 
or emeralds. 17
Of the citie of Cana.
THe ancient citie of Cana built by the Egyptians vpon Tthe banke of Nilus ouer 
against Barbanda, and enuironed with wals of sunne-dried bricks, is inhabited 
with people of base condition, applying themselues vnto husbandrie, by which 
means the citie aboundeth with corne. Hither are the merchandise brought 
against the streame of Nilus, which are sent from Cairo to Mecca: for the distance 
from hence ouer the wildernes vnto the
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HISTORIE OF AFRICA.
Red sea, is at least 120. miles, all which way there is no water at all to be founde. 
And at the hauen of Chossir The hauen of vpon the shore of the red sea are diuers 
cottages whereinto Chossir. the saide merchandises are vnladen. And ouer against 
Chossir on the side of Asia lieth Iambuh another hauen of the red sea, whereat 
traualiers going on pilgrimage to see the tombe of Mahumet at Medina, must 
make their rendezvous or generall meeting. Moreouer Chana furnisheith Medina 
and Mecca with come, in which places they suffer great and continuall 
scarcitie. 108
Of the citie of Asna.
A Sna in times past was called Siene: which name was 
afterward changed by the Arabians, in whose language the worde Siene signifieth 
a filthie or vncleane thing. Wherefore they called it Asna, that is to say, faire and 
beautifull, because it standeth in a pleasant situation vpon the westerne banke of 
Nilus: which citie though it was brought almost to desolation by the Romaines, 
yet was it so repaired againe in the Mahumetans time, that the inhabitants grewe 
exceeding rich, both in corne, cattell, and money: for they transport their 
commodities partly vp the streame of Nilus, and partly ouer the deserts, into the 
kingdome of Nubia. Round about this citie there are to be seen diuers huge 
buildings, and admirable sepulchres, togethier with sundrie epitaphes engrauen 
both in Egyptian and Latine Letters. 109
Of the citie of Assuan.

The great, ancient, and populous city of Assuan was built by the Egyptians upon the river of Nilus, about four-score miles eastward from Asna. The soil adjacent is most apt and fruitful for corn. And the citizens are exceedingly addicted unto the trade of merchandise, because they dwell so near unto the kingdom of Nubia, upon the confines whereof standeth their city: beyond which city Nilus dispersing himself over the plaines through many small lakes becometh innoxious.

Also the said city standeth near unto that desert over Suachen, which they travel unto the port of Suachen upon the red sea, and it adjoineth likewise upon the frontiers of Ethiopia. And here in summer time the inhabitants are extremely scorched with the heat of the sun, being of a swart or browne colour, and being mingled with the people of Nubia and Ethiopia. Here are to be seen also many buildings of the ancient Egyptians, and most high towers, which they call in the language of that country Barb.

Beyond this place there is neither city nor habitation of any account, besides a fewe villages of blacke people, whose speech is compounded of the Arabian, Egyptian, and Ethiopian languages. These being subject unto the *Bugiha are people called *Bugiha, lie in the fields after the Arabian those which in old time were manner, being free from the Soldans jurisdiction, for there called Tro-lodytce. His dominions are limited.

And thus much concerning the principal cities standing along the maine chanel of Nilus: Some whereof I saw, others I entered into, and passed by the residue: but I had most certaine intelligence of them all, either by the inhabitants themselves, or by the mariners which carried me by water from Cairo to Assuan, with whom returning back unto Chana, I travelled thence over the desert unto the red sea, over which sea I crossed unto Imbuth, and Ziddem two havent-townes of Arabia deserta, of which two townes, because they belong unto Asia, I will not here discourse, least I should seem to transgress the limits of The great Africa. But if it shall please god to vouchsafe me longer travels of Ioyn Leo. Life, I purpose to describe all the regions of Asia which I haue travelled: to wit Arabia deserta, Arabia felix, Arabia Petrea, the Asian part of Egypt, Armenia, and some part of Tartaria; all which countries I saw and passed through.

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in the time of my youth. Likewise I will set downe my last voyages from Fez to Constantinople, from Constantinople to Egypt, and from thence into Italic, in
which lourney I saw diuers and sundry Islands. All which my trauels I meane (by Gods assistance) being returned forth of Europe into mine owne countrie, particularly to describe; decyphering first the regions of Europe and Asia which I haue seen, and thereunto annexing this my discourse of Africa; to the end that I may promote the endeuours of such as are desirous to know the state of forren countries.110

NOTES TO BOOK VIII.
(i) This lake is Menzaleh, and Tenesse, or Tennes (the ancient Tenessus), an island on which are remains of Roman baths, tombs, etc. The wildfowl on the lake and in its vicinity are still as numerous as ever, and the habits of the people are today much what they were at the time when Leo visited them. The "dulipan" (dolopani) is equivalent to the turban, and the "chebie" of Leo is evidently the "jubba".

(2) Modern Egypt is commonly divided into El-Bahari, or Lower Egypt; El-Vortani, or Middle Egypt; and El-Said, or Upper Egypt. In Ibn Haukal's day, the part of Egypt below Old Cairo (El-FostAt)-north-east of the Nile-was called "Hauf" and that to the south (properly west) Rif (Er-Rif, the "riviera", a word more familiar as applied to the Moroccan region of the same name, p. 635).-Abu-Ijeda, Giografhie (ed. Reinaud), t. ii, p. 14i. In Ouseley's trans. of Ibn Haukal (pp. 36, 37), Khouf and Zeif are (erroneously, according to De Sacy) the orthography of these districts.-Abd Allatif, Relation de Pftyte (ed. De Sacy), pp. 56, 396-398. The divisions mentioned by Leo are still known among the natives. Bechria is Behriyya, the Lake Region.

(3) In Hebrew Egypt is MAisraim, or Mazor, which in the Prophets means Lower Egypt proper, as distinguished from Pathros, or Upper Egypt. Mazor is preserved in the Arab Misr, pronounced Mazr in the vulgar dialect of Egypt, Mdzar in that of Morocco and other parts of Barbary. It is now applied to both the country and the capital.

(4) " Amr figliuolo di Asi, capitano d'un escercito arabo di Omar secondo pontefice"-‘Amr Ibn el-Asi-A.H. 18, A.D. 639.

(5) El-FostAt (ut sutira), founded in A.H. 21 (A.D. 64), the seat of government till A.D. 751. The mosque of ‘Amr is well known as one of the few memorials of the past now standing amid the ruins of "Old Cairo".

(6) The numerous places in Egypt with which the name of Joseph (Yusuf) is linked have most probably no connection whatever with the Hebrew patriarch of that name, but, like the Canal, Well, Hall, etc., " of Joseph", refer to En-Naser Sala.h ed-Din Yfisuf Ibn Ayyuib (Saladin), the famous Kurdish conqueror. Even then the connection is often purely honorary.

NOTES TO BOOK VIII.
(7) At one time the plague appeared at regular intervals of six, eight, and ten years. But it is now more than sixty years since there has been an outbreak, mainly owing to stricter care regarding the landing of goods and infected persons
from Asia and other quarters, including Barbary and the He5.z, where, if not endemic, it has appeared more than once this century. Even in the age of the Pharaohs, the plague was an Egyptian disease. Cholera is more dreaded nowadays.-Ray, Collection of Curious Travels and Voyages, tome ii, p. 95; Savary, Letters on Eg75t, vol. ii, pp. 218-233; Abd Allatif, Relation de /Egyfite, pp. 4, 9 ; Desgenettes, Relation cirurgicale de l'arinie d'Orient, p. 409, etc. ; Me`:noires sur lEgy te, t. iv, p. 238, et seq. ; Zagrel, Die Clinat de l'Egypte ; Pruner, Topografihiie llidicale du Caire ; Patterson, Egypt as a Health Resort (1867); Dalrymple, Medical and Meteorological Observations on the Climate of Egypt (I 86o) ; Clot-Bey, Aperfi Gnral sur [Egyfite; De la Pese, etc. ; Description de l'Egypte, t. xiii.

(8) The ancient Busiris in the Delta, the modern Abusir, a name also applied to Busiris, the supposed Nilopolis, and to a village near the Gizeh Pyramids. Lake Bucaira is the modern Mareotis, or Mariut.

(9) This, as pointed out more than two centuries ago by Ogleby (Africa, p. 55), is an error of Leo's ; for Alexandria, instead of being distant from the Nile "verso ponente quaranta miglai", is only twelve miles from the Canopic mouth, and about twice as far from the Rosetta or Bolbitine mouth of the river.

(IO) Who this "astuto pontefice maumettano" was, is not mentioned by any other authority. The Khalif Othman demolished the fortifications, and in the ninth century Ahmed Ibn Tfilfin pulled down the old walls and erected others more suited to the diminished size of "Iskandriyya". The discovery in 1497 of the route to India by way of the Cape of Good Hope, brought about the temporary ruin of Alexandria, as it did of so many other famous Mediterranean seaports. This was also aided by the conquest of Egypt by the Turks, so that the city, which was still a place of some actual importance, became so utterly insignificant that, when Savary visited it in 1777, he found it a town of ruins "of small extent and six thousand inhabitants", instead of the 300,000 free inhabitants and 600,000 slaves it contained in the time of Augustus. But Savary did not see the place at its worst : for when in 1692 M. de Maillet, French Consul at Cairo, landed here, a city with inhabitants scarcely existed." Je ne crois pas qu'h bien conpter les Chr-tiens, les Turcs, et les Arabes qui habitent encore cette Alexandrie prê~tendue, on trouvAt une centaine d'hommes parmi les ruines qu'elle renferme." The place was a desert, in which robbers plied their trade

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almost with impunity (Description de lEgypte, etc., ed. by L'Abb Le Mascrier (1740), t. i, p. 186). The Sieur Caesar Lambert, who visited it some sixty years earlier, though he does not allude to it in such unflattering terms, evidently did not find it much more flourishing (Trois Relations d'E-yp te, etc., p. 44). It is therefore clear that if Alexandria deserved Leo's description, it had not then begun to feel the withering effects of Turkish misrule. Indeed, when Leo first saw it, the Mamluks were still reigning, and what he has to say regarding Alexandria and other parts of Egypt applies almost exclusively to the period of these
comparatively enlightened sovereigns. It was Mohammed Ali who restored the commercial prosperity of Alexandria, which now has a population of over 200,000.

(ii) The Mersa el-Bargi—the Eastern or Great Harbour—called the New Port, is now only frequented by small native vessels. But until the evacuation of Alexandria by the English, when the privilege of using the Mersa Essil Sela, the western harbour, now called the Old Port, was (in common with that of riding on horseback) granted to all Europeans, the Mersa el-Bargi was allotted to "Christian" ships, which were only admitted, under stress of weather, into the exclusive haven.

(12) "Ludovico quarto r di Francia" is a mistake. It should be Louis IV (Saint Louis), who in 1249, at the head of the Eighth Crusade, captured Damietta, but was taken prisoner at Mansura by the Sultan Melek es-SAleh, of the Ayyubite dynasty, and released on the restitution of Damietta and the payment of a million bezants of gold (about Z38o,000).—Savary, Letters on Egypt, vol. i, PP. 337-384, etc., The transaction was, however, effected during the brief reign of Melek el-Mo'azzam (Tifran Shah), Melek es-SAleh having died on the 21st November, while the French army did not appear—according to Makrizi, Joinville, and other authorities—before Mansura until the 19th December 1249. But the ransom of St. Louis was the work of that sultan's mother, Sheger ed-Durr, who, after instigating the murder of her predecessor, reigned for three months and married the Mamluk El-Moi'zz, who in 1250 founded the Bahri Mamluk dynasty, and was murdered in 1257 by his jealous spouse (Makrizi, Hist. des Sultans Tfamlouks de l'Egypte, ed. Quatremere, t. i, pp. 71-73). As St. Louis made on behalf of the Christian powers a truce with Islam for ten years, the raid of the Cyprians, Venetians, and French must have been much later than the words of Leo seem to indicate; unless it was that the treaty was indifferently adhered to. The "Soldan" referred to is probably Ez-ZAher Baybers I (A.D. 1260), who fortified Alexandria.

(13) The place which Leo takes to be the Roman Monte Testaccio is apparently that which used to be known as the Pharillon, near the entrance to the New Harbour. It was evidently the work of the Mohammedan kings, who were unable to re-erect the ancient Pharos. The modern lighthouse has long ago superseded it. (De Maillet, Description de l'Egypte, 1740, t. i, p. 164.)

(14) "Pompey's Pillar." The cisterns under the houses to which Leo refers are among the few remnants of ancient Alexandria still existing. They are used for storing the water supply furnished by the Canopic Canal.

(15) Copts (Kubti, Gubi), called Jacobites, not, as they pretend, from James the Apostle, but more likely from Jacobus Baradeus, the Syrian heresiarch, who propagated the tenets of the Monophysites, Eutychians, or Monothelites, condemned by the fourth (Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon. They claim their conversion from paganism to have been the work of St. Mark, and still pretend to have the body of that Apostle in the Coptic convent at Alexandria, though, as
stated by Leo, Ddru, and other historians, it was removed by the Venetians about A.D. 828. The inscriptions on the mosaics of St. Mark at Venice admit that the relics were stolen by Rustico of Torcello and Buono of Malanacco, assisted by the monk Staurgius and the priest Theodorus, who were in charge of the sanctuary at Alexandria. (Gardner Wilkinson, Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc., vol. vii, p. 258.) The Greeks of Alexandria pretend, on the other hand, that their convent of St. Saba contains the original church of St. Mark.

(16) The traditional tomb of Alexander, fabled to exist at various other places, was thought to have been found by Mr. Stoddart amidst the mounds of the old city. This building looks like an ordinary sheikh's tomb, and is near the bath to the west of the road leading from the Frank Quarter to the Pompey's Pillar Gate. Its position, however, does not agree with Strabo's description of the "Sôma", while the sarcophagus, regarded by the Alexandrians as the tomb of "Iskander", is now in the British Museum. But the hieroglyphics on it prove that it belonged to one of the Pharaohs. In Murray's usually very accurate Guide Book, p. f 30, the quotation from Leo is inaccurate. There is nothing about the small edifice "standing in the midst of the mounds of Alexandria". Nor are Pory and Florian any more correct in referring to the "monument of Alexandria" (in medio Alexandria ruderum). All that Leo says is that the "piccola casa a modo di chiesetta" was "nel mezzo della citt." (17) "Bochin" is a misprint for "Bocchir" of the Italian original. This is again a corruption of Abukir, off which the naval battle of that name was fought on the 1st of August 1798. Savary calls it

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"Alboukir", and mentions that "the place is called Bekier by Mariners". Leo seems to have considered it an ancient city. Most likely it is identical with Canopus, the village of Aboukir a little to the west of it being a modern town, built in part out of the ruins. A small place now, it seems to have been much smaller four centuries ago. See "Map of Ancient Egypt", iii, Egyptian Exploration Fund's Atlas (1894).

(18) Rosetta, the Arabic Rashid, which is simply a corruption of the former. Who built it, is not known. El-Macin mentions that it was founded during the reign of El-Motawakkil 'ala' llah (Ja'far) about A.D. 870. It did not, as Maillet and Alpinus imagine, replace Canopus, and therefore is of comparatively recent date, though it possibly occupies the site of Bolbitinum. Rosetta was founded on account of the silting-up of the Bolbitine branch of the Nile, and for many ages flourished exceedingly. In Leo's day it had not attained the zenith of its prosperity. All the overland trade of India passed through it; while the coolness of the umbrageous gardens which surround it, and the salubrity of the air, attracted thither the residents of Cairo during the hot season. In Abu-l-fed'a's day it was "a small city", and when Belon visited it in 1530 the place was not half the size of Fua. But, by the close of last century, it was one-half larger than that town. Its population, now about 14,000, must then have exceeded 25,000. Even then the "bogaz" or bar of the branch of the Nile on which it is built, was very
troublesome, and for two months in the year totally prevented the commerce of
Alexandria entering the river. The Nile Delta, which is constantly increasing and
altering without the government making any efforts to
survey the mud banks or to provide against the shoaling, told year after year
against the trade of Rosetta. Then the cutting of the Mahmudiyya canal by
Mehemet Ali diverted the overland trade, and now Ramleh is the favourite
summer resort of the Alexandrians and Cairenes. The mosques, propped up by
red Corinthian columns from Canopus, like those which form the corner-stones of
many private buildings, have not escaped the general decay which has overtaken
this once flourishing town. It was here that a British force under General Fraser
was defeated by Mehemet Ali in 1807. It was occupied by the French in 1798—a
strategic operation, one of the most important results of which was the accidental
discovery of the famous trilingual "Rosetta stone"; and the Briton to whom the
memories of Rosetta are not entirely pleasant, may feel a patriotic compensation
by remembering that it was from the old fort on a sand-hill behind the fig-shaded
mosque, that Denou, one of the savants who came with Napoleon to Egypt, saw
the destruction of the French fleet by Nelson in Abukir Bay.

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(19) This fixes Leo's visit to have been about A.D. 1517, the date of the conquest
of Egypt by Selim I, the Great—or, as he is better known in history, "Yawuz
Selim"—Selim the Grim.
(20) There is no place in Egypt called "Antius", and it is difficult, from the data
supplied, to determine what town Leo meant. Marmol who is, however, no
authority—says that it was formerly called Antedon, a place mentioned by Ptolemy.
Antino6, or Antino6polis, has been suggested mainly from a slight similarity of
the name. But, as Leo is describing the Delta, the place he notes as a busy town
must be sought for there, and not in the modern village of Sheikh Abadeh in
Middle Egypt, among the palm groves of which some ancient remains lie
scattered. Arsino6 is still less acceptable: for it was in the Fayum and not on the
Nile. The only conclusion permissible is that Anthius is some place on the Delta,
of which either Leo or his first editor mistook the name.
Busir may, however, be a Busiris—most likely the one on the Gizeh Plateau.—
Edrisi, Africa, ed. Hartmann, p. 506, ed. Dozy et de Goeje, P. 53 ; Golius,
Mohammedis filii Ketiri Ferganenis, qui vulgo A ifraganus dicitur, Elementa
Astronomica Arabice et La/ne (1699), p. 104 ; Abu-l-feda, ed. Reinaud, p. 157 ;
Savary, Letters on Egyht, vol. i, P. 454; Bruns., Allgemeine Geog. Eheneriden
(April, 1801), p. 317, where Antino6 is suggested as identical with Anthius.
(21) Probably Berimbal el-Kebir, not a city, but only a large village on the
Menzaleh Canal. This identification has the imprimatur of Karsten Niebuhr. Most
of the rice of the Lower Delta is now shipped from Damietta, an important town,
which, curiously enough, is not described by Leo, though mentioned by him.
(22) Memphis is mistaken by Leo for Thebes, the form "Thebe" being adopted
from Pliny and Juvenal. This error is, in kind if not in degree, made by many
writers subsequent to Leo's time (Savary, Letters, vol. i, pp. 257, 258, 388, 392).
If Herodotus is even approximately correct—and the appearance of the vicinity is in favour of the story told to him by the priests—Memphis must be as old as Menes, according to Mariette, 5004 B.C. Its ruins are, at all events, of immense antiquity.

(23) "... trecento fuochi; ma 6 ornata di belle case." These "three hundred hearths" must have been at the village of Sakkarah, whose houses, however, it is impossible to describe as "belle case". Most probably, much was standing four centuries ago which has now disappeared or been covered with Nile mud. Abd Allatif, writing at the end of the twelfth century, describes the ruins as extensive and marvellous; and Abu-l-feda, 150 years later, speaks of Memphis (Menf), which he believes to be the ancient Misr, as still very considerable.


(25) Fua, Fooah, occupying the site of the ancient Metellis. It is now a poor place. Leo's account of its prosperity four centuries ago is confirmed by Belon, who in the sixteenth century described it as second only to Cairo. The Venetians kept a Consul here, and merchandise was brought thither up the now no longer navigable Alexandrian Canal. The foundation and prosperity of Rosetta were, however, the first blows to the place, which now contains only large ruinous buildings and squares full of rubbish. In the reign of Menelek Adel (A.D. 1200), brother of Saladin, the Crusaders, after plundering the town of much booty, burnt it. Possibly it was affected by the hereditary licentiousness of the neighbouring Canopus, which was transmitted from the Egyptians to its later possessors (Savary, Letters, etc., vol. i, pp. 44, 45, 69). The belief that less than five centuries ago Fua (now nearly eight miles above it) was at the mouth of the Canopic branch of the Nile is not confirmed by Leo, though the increase of the Delta renders this very probable. Modern Damietta is also supposed to have been a seaport in A.D. 1428 (Shaw, Travels, ed. 1757; Maillet, Description, p. 26; Abd Allatif, pp. 2, 8). In reality, this town was razed in A.D. 1251, as Abu-l-feda and Makrizi tell us by Melik El-Mo'izz Aybek, on a report that the French again threatened Egypt, and the present town erected about four miles further from the sea. Traces of the old city—a mosque, etc.—can still be seen at the village of Esba.

The two towns are confounded by many writers, including Alpinus, Pococke, Karsten Niebuhr, Maillet, Shaw, and others.—Savary, Letters, vol. i, pp. 308-311.

(26) Geziret ed-Debub.

(27) Mehella. There are several places of that name in the Delta—Mehallet Malik, Mehallet el-Eben, Mehallet Damaneh, Mehallet Rokh, 'Mehallet El-Kebir, etc. The latter was the capital of the lower, or Garbia, province of the Delta. It is described by Abu-l-feda (ed. Reinaud, t. ii, p. 160), and was still in Savary's day noted for its cloth and sal ammoniac manufactures. This is probably the place meant by Leo, though "the author of Voshtarek", quoted by. Abu-l-feda, declares...
that in his day there were "about a hundred" villages in Egypt called by the name of Mehella (place, town, quarter).

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(28) Darut is now a pleasant-looking but insignificant village, from which sugar-making has long disappeared.
(29) There is a Mehallet-Sa (the town of Sa) on the other side of the Nile from the site of the ancient city of Saiss, which still bears the name of Sa el-Hagar (Sa of the stone). This is apparently Leo's, 'Mechillat Cais'. Quatrême, Ifimoiresscgdorgqfiques et historiques sur l'Egylite, t. i, p. 292; Hartmann, Africa Edrisii, pp. 498, 499. See also for a good account of Saiss, Murray's Guide Book, p. 147.
(30) Masr el-KAhira, named from the planet Mars (Kahir) having been in the ascendant on the night that Gauhar el-Kaid laid the foundation. The city was originally named El-Mansfiriyya (the Victorious), but was changed to El-KAhira by the Khalif El-Mo'izz on account of the omen mentioned. Mrs. Lane's Englishwoman in Egypt, vol. i, p. 124, et seq., gives details (partly from Mr. Lane's notes) of the history of Cairo and other Egyptian capitals under the Moslems. Leo's etymology-"El Chaera, che tanto dinota quanto coartic'-is altogether incorrect.
(3) Now nearer 400,000-or about ten times the population at the beginning of the sixteenth century.-See Lane-Poole's Cairo (1893) Makrizi's Khitat, etc. (Bulak, 1854).
(32) JAMA el-Azhar, converted into the Moslem "University" of that name by the Khalif el-Aziz. The number of students under he Sheikh el-Azhar sometimes amounts to 12,000--a popularity which has reduced Fez to insignificance.
(33) Jebel Mokattam.
(34) Bab en-Nasr (Gate of Help to Triumph.,
(35) Bab es-Zuweylah, now really in the heart of the city, owing to its spread towards the south.
(36) JAMA el-Hakem, completed by El-HAkem EI-MansCir, third Fatemite Khalif(A.D. 996).
(37) Beyn el-Kasreyn-"Between the Palaces," that is, the Great and Little Palaces, which were originally, and until El-Fostat was burnt, the only buildings within the walls of Gauhar's Cairo.
(38) JAMA el-Ghoriya, built by the Sultan El-Ashraf KAnsCih el Ghori about 150i.
(39) Balabac in the original Italian, Bahlabah in Temporal's translation, Balabach in Florianus' Latin and Leer's Dutch translation. It is Baalbec in Syria.
(43) Muslin, from Mosul (after which it is named), on the opposite bank of the Tigris from the ruins of Nineveh.

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(41) "Panni d'Italia, come sono rasi damaschenis vellute, tafetta, brocati e altri."
(42) Khan Khalili, built by Gokarkis el-Khalili in A.D. 1292, still a sort of "auction mart".

(43) The Sok el-'Att.rin, at the end of the Hamzowi, near "the Burse", is at present the principal place for the sale of spices, perfumes, and drugs.

(44) The Sok es-Saigh and the Gohariyya, in the near vicinity are the jewellers' bazaars. The booksellers, bookbinders, paper-dealers and others, may be found by the El-Azhar mosque, just as the same class of shops crowd the vicinity of university buildings all the world over.

(45) "... tin grande spedale, il quale fu edificato da Piperis primo soldano de Mammaluicchi." There is a mistake here. The first Mamluk Sultan was Melik Mo'izz Aybek, the consort of Sheger edDurr, who, however, caused him to be proclaimed Sultan El-Mansur. ["Piperis" may possibly be a corruption of Beybars, the name of the fourth ruler of this line.-E. D. R.]

(46) J. ma es-Sultan Hasan. The literary class have always strenuously opposed any innovation. Hence the difficulty in introducing any change in the curriculum of the college. Dor Bey, L'Instruction publique en EgyPte. The "Soldan's Castle" (citadel) is immediately above the mosque of Hasan.

(47) Ahmed Ibn T6lfin (A.D. 868) was founder of the Tfilfnide dynasty. He built the mosque known by his name (Jgma Ibn-T6lun) in A.D. 879 (A.H. 265).

(48) Bab el-Luk.

(49) Esbekiyya is now one of the most fashionable quarters in Cairo. Up to 1867 it was a low haunt, practically flooded during "high Niles". The Jima Esbek is named after the Emir Ezbek el-Yfisufi, a notable of El-Ashraf Gg.nbalgt (A.D. 1 500).

(50) The beauty and vigour of the Egyptian donkeys have won the admiration of all visitors, and are celebrated by the older writers of the country. Sonnini, Voyage, t. ii, p. 353; Alpinus, Hist. Nat. Egyfit., part i, pp. 121-122; Mailliet, Descri/t. de l'Egyfit, t. ii, p. 124. In Abd Allatif's day, a donkey fit for a wealthy Jew or Christian to ride--infidels not being, until comparatively lately, permitted the distinction of mounting a horse-brought from seventy to forty pieces of gold (Relation, etc., p. 150). Nasir-i-Khusrau affirms that in his time (eleventh century) 50,000 donkeys, richly caparisoned, stood for hire in Cairo. "Banks his curtall," mentioned by Pory in a note, refers to the trick horse "Marocc", exhibited in 1595 and subsequent years, by 914

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a Scotchman named Banks. Shakespeare alludes to it in Love's Labour's Lost, where Moth, wishing to show how simple is a certain arithmetical problem, says, "The dancing horse will tell." Notes by Halliwell to his edition of Shakespeare; Chambers, Domestic Annals of Scotland (April, 1596); Morocca Ex-staticas or Bankes Bay Horse zn a Trance (1595); Douce, Illustrations of Shakesfieare, vol. i, p. 214, etc. The "Kureydat" still amuse the humbler order of Cairenes with performances such as those described; Lane, M1odern Egyfitians, vol. ii, p. 99(51) This divination by birds is identical with that practised of late years in the streets of London and other towns, but was long familiar to the Italians, who may
have introduced it from Egypt, or vice versa. Street fencing, etc., was almost a
frequent sight in the lower quarters of Cairo.

(52) Bulak, the port of Cairo, best known to strangers as the home of the famous
Museum of Egyptian Antiquities.

(53) Bab el-Karafeh, near the tombs of the Mamluks, and of the Imam ShAfi at
the base of Jebel Mokattam.

(54) El-Fostgt gives its name to "fustian", just as Mosul does to muslin, Damietta
to dimity, etc.

(55) The Mosque of Amr (p. 906).

(56) Nefisa ("the precious one") was the great-granddaughter of the Imam el-
Hasan. Her father, the Governor of Medina, was imprisoned by Ei-Mansur, and
restored to power by Al-Mahdi. She was married to a son of the Imam Ja'far es-
Sadik, and after living the life described by Leo, died in Old Cairo A.H. 218
(A.D. 824). Her mosque and mausoleum (formerly her house), is still much
reverenced as a "KarAmat", or miracle-working shrine, though no longer the
attraction it was in Leo's day. It stands-or stood-in the Darb as-Sabua, which
formerly divided Old and New Cairo, and is now a suburb of the latter.

Makrizi, Arabic MS. in BibL. Nat., No. 682, fol. 335, 360, vide De Sa cy's ed.
Abd Allatif (pp. 428, 430) more than once refers to the Mosque of Sitta Nefisa in
Cairo.

(57) Not the so-called "Tombs of the Khalifs" or "El-KAit Bey", but the almost
equally ruined "Tombs of the Mamluks" south of Cairo.

(58) Suez. These landmarks do not now exist.

(59) Matariyya, a village near Heliopolis, once celebrated for its balsam
(Balsamodendron gileadensis and B. ofiobalsainum), brought,

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according to current legend, from Judoea to this spot by Cleopatra, in spite of the
opposition of Herod. But Josephus tells us that the ground on which the Balsam of
Gilead grew, near Jericho and in Arabia, belonged to Cleopatra, and was farmed
for her by Herod. At all events, the balsam was taken from Matariyya (where it
does not now grow) and cultivated, in the vicinity of Mecca, whence it is exported
under the name of Mecca balsam. But the resin is obtained from a variety of
Terebinthaceae. All the older writers refer to it. Abd Allatif (Relation de l'Eby5te,
pp. 20-22) describes its growth at Matariyya. So do Alpinus (Hist. Nat. Egypt.,
part i, chap. 14, p. 26, et seq.), Vesleng (Ibid., pp. 174, 227, etc.), Belon (lib. cit.,
liv, ii, ch. 39, P. 246, et seq.), Linnaeus (Amcenitates Academicae, vol. vii, P. 55,
et seq.). Sionite (De nonnullis Oriental. uribus, Geog. Nubiensis, p. 27),
Pellegrino Brocardi (Dissertazione intorno ad alcuni viaggiatori eruditi Venez. da
D. J. Morelli), and a host of other writers less apocryphal than the compiler of the
travels which pass under the name of Sir John de Mandeville, who affects to have
visited Egypt in the reign of Melec Mandebon [Al-Melik alMozaffer Baybers],
about the year 1335. Suytiti and Kazwini, two Arabic writers, whose MS. works
in the National Library of Paris are cited by De Sacy in his edition of Abd Allatif,
p. 90, speak of the well as fountains with which the balsam plants at" Mataria"
were watered, with the addition that the virtues of the irrigant were due to the Messiah having bathed in it. The modern Coptic version, also related by Makrizi (MS. in Bibl. Nat. No. 682, fol. 16, vide De Sacy), is that the water was salt until the arrival of the Holy Family in Egypt, its softness being due to "Our Lady having bathed in it". In reality the supposed spring is an infiltration from the Nile, while the superstitions connected with it go back to the early days of Egypt, when it was the "Fountain of the Sun."

(60) The island of Raudha (Roda), or the isle of the Mekds, Measurer, or Nilometer. According to Makrizi, it was first known as "the island", or the "island of Misr". Then it was called the Fort Island, Ahmed Ibn T6ifin (A.D. 861) having built a fort on it, and later still received the name of Raudha. Here Gyreg the Mukowkis, the traitorous Greek governor, retired with his forces until he could make terms with the Moslem conqueror, into whose hands the frontier of Babylon had fallen. And on Raudha the Khalif Amir biacham-allah reared a pleasure house (haudaj) for his Bedouin wife, "and SAleh Nejim ed-Din Ayyfib built the fortress called Sflehiyya". The Bahrite ("river") Mamluks, who derive their name from being quartered here, further peopled it, while Ibr-him Pasha laid out the northern part of the gardens. But though no longer resorted to by the Cairenes for a change of air, the foreign visitor comes to inspect the Nilometer, and the natives respect it as the traditional spot where Pharaoh's daughter found the infant Moses. (Arabic MS. in Bibl. Nat., No. 682, fol. 376, vide De Sacy in Abd Allatif, p. 388). For the ceremonies attending the overflowing of the Nile, see Lane, Modern Egypftians (1871), vol. ii, p. 224, et seq.; Abd-Allatif (ed. De Sacy), pp. 404, 406, 505, etc.

(61) In this chapter Leo mixes up descriptions of El-Fostat and Cairo without any warning, except from the context, that he has suddenly shifted his ground. Thus, he is again at Cairo in describing the Citadel (El-Ka'fa), near to the Bab ez-Zuweyla. It has been much altered since Leo's day, some of the oldest and most interesting parts having been pulled down-among others Saladin's palace. But it is still a little town in itself, and perfectly sodden with the grim chronicles from the twelfth century. Here, as in the days which follow, Leo describes the Cairo of the Mamluk Sultans. For though he saw the conquest by Selim-or Selin, as he spells the name-and visited the country thrice subsequently-but, according to my calculation, not later than 1520-his Egypt is essentially that of the "old Soldans", whose rule ended in 1517.

(62) This description of the customs of Cairo might, making allowance for four centuries having almost elapsed since it was written, stand very well for those of to-day. The "Sakkas", or water-sellers, of Leo's time are exactly those of ours, as sketched in Lane's Modern Egypftians, vol. ii, p. I6, et seq.

(63) Artificial egg-hatching, now familiar enough in Europe and America, where incubators of various kinds are in use, was from a very early date an Egyptian industry, which excited the interest and even disgust of prejudiced strangers. Early in the second century the Emperor Hadrian, in a letter to the Consul...
Servianus, full of contempt for the Egyptians, adds that he wished them no other curse than to be fed on their own chickens, "which are hatched in a way I am ashamed [i.e., lest his veracity might be doubted] to relate." At one time, the trade of "manufacturing chickens", as the Arabs call it, was an Oppressive monopoly in the hands of farmers-general, who exercised their lucrative privileges with so little regard to justice that, according to Makrizi, it was suppressed in A.H. 716 (A.D. 1316) by the reigning Sultan. At present, the Copts are the chief "chicken makers". At Gizeh there are many ovens, and at Mansura there used to be a great industry in it; the villagers of Bemmni bearing the reputation of being supremely skilful at the art, which is only practised during the first two or three months of spring and early summer, for reasons given by Abd Allatif (p. 154). A recent report (1891) of the United States Consul-General in Egypt, sketches this ancient trade, and the 600 ovens (mammal el ferdk) in which the hatching takes place. One which he visited was wholly constructed of sun-dried bricks, mortar, and earth. It was 70 ft. long, 60 ft. wide, and 16 ft. high, and was provided with twelve compartments or incubators, each capable of hatching 7,500 eggs, or altogether 90,000, at one time. The season begins in March and lasts until May, and three batches of eggs are hatched in this time, each taking an average of three weeks. The fourth week is given to removing the chickens, and preparing the incubators for a new batch of eggs. The number of eggs treated at this establishment in a single season was therefore 270,000, from which 234,000 chickens are usually obtained. The percentage of chickens would be greater but that the eggs are in some instances procured from long distances and in large quantities, and are therefore liable to damage. The price of eggs is 2 d. per dozen, and the chickens just issued from the shell are sold at 71 d. per dozen. The loss of chickens after incubation is comparatively small. The whole staff of the place is a man and a boy, who keep up the fires to a temperature of not less than 980 F., arrange the eggs, move them four or five times in the twenty-four hours, look after the chickens, and hand them over to the buyers, or to the customers, who generally receive one chicken for every two eggs sent in. In short, it is carried on to-day in all essential details as Herodotus saw it practised in Memphis more than 2,300 years ago. The number of chickens hatched in this manner throughout Egypt is variously estimated at from 10,000,000 to 75,000,000, and would, under ordinary circumstances, at the highest figure named, require 1,500,000 mothers. (64) El Chenefia. (65) "II giudice della religione chiamata Essifichia," the followers of the Iman Esh-Shafi (A.H. 150, A.D. 767-68). (66) The Sunnites, in opposition to the Shiites. "Hashari" (Asari) is apparently a misprint or latsus hienna, for Esh-ShAfi (Asafi), ut sufira. He was of the Koraish tribe, and descended from Abd-ul Muttalib, the Prophet's grandfather. (67) Malek ibn Anas (A.D. 95-179, A.D. 713-14-795), the first great systematiser of Moslem doctrines, and the founder of the Malekite Rite, as contradistinguished from the Hanefite, the school of Abu Hanefa an-Noman (A.H. 80, A.D. 699-70).
Malek was born in Medina, or Medinat en-Nabi, "City of the Prophet" - "Medina Talnabi," according to Leo's somewhat uncouth transliteration.

(68) Such dreadful punishments, contrary to both the spirit and the letter of the Koran, were abandoned about the same time that the scarcely less hideous ones, equally inimical to the teachings of Christianity, disappeared from European jurisprudence.

(69) This form of mutilation was prevalent in the time of Strabo (pp. 711, 824). Lane informs us that it is still universally practised in every part of Egypt, both by Moslems and Copts, except in Alexandria and perhaps a few other places on the shores of the Mediterranean (Modern Egyptians, vol. i, p. 73; Arabic Dictionary, sub voce "Hafeda"). Karsten Niebuhr "heard" that it was in vogue on both shores of the Persian Gulf and at Bagdad. (Description dArabie, p. 70). It is known in Somaliland, and Strabo mentions its prevalence not only in Egypt but in Arabia, where it is still carried out. Indeed, no Arab would accept a bride on whom the operation had not been performed. Roland (De Religione Mohammadica, ed. 1717, P. 75), traces an allusion to it in Galen. See also Ebers, Egypten und die Brucker Mosis, vol. i, pp. 278-284, etc., and Burton's edition of Tile Arabian Nights, vol. v, p. 279.

(70) This is not quite accurate. Besides the Circassian (Burgi) Mamluks, there were others of Turkish (Bahri) or Tartar origin, and several whose names suggest even Arab descent, though they appear to have been actually Tartars, and many were Greeks. Nor, of course, did it always follow that their religion had been originally Christian.

(71) In 1250, when Melek el-Ashraf was deposed by the Bahrite Mamluk, Melek Mo'izz Aybek. What follows refers to El-'Adid's vizier Shauer, in his struggles with Darghan for office, calling in the help of Nur ed-Din, ruler of Aleppo, who sent Kurdish troops under his son SalAh ed-Din (Saladin). With these allies he quarrelled, and by the assistance of Amauri, or Amalrik, King of Jerusalem, drove them out of Egypt. On Amauri in his turn attempting to capture Cairo, that city was burnt. The Kurds were again called on, and Salth ed-Din became Vizier, and subsequently king by usurping the throne on the death of El-'Adid. Melek es-SAleh (Negm ed-D in Ayyibi) originally imported the Mamluks or white slaves to defend him against the Crusaders and his own kinsmen.

(72) Also called N5.ib es-Saltana, or Viceroy, or Melik el-Umara ("King of Nobles"), who lived in a special palace (Dar enNitba) in the Citadel. Lane-Poole, Art of the Saracens, p. 29. Leo's title for this functionary may perhaps be deciphered as the Emir el-Jandir or Jukendar; Makrizi, MAamlouks, t. i, pp. 118, 121,

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(73) He was originally designated Atabek of the Armies (Atabek el-astker) ; but after the middle of the fourteenth century he was called simply El-Emir el-Kabir
("the chief ruler"). In the De Legatione Babylonica (1516), p. 85, of Peter Martyr (Anglerius) we read that "Emir-Chebir est Magistratus primus post Soldanum."

(74) This official is not mentioned by Makrizi under that name; he always speaks simply of the Ntib (Nai), the Viceroy or Governor of Syria.

(75) The OstiddAr or Major-domo, who by the year 1400, and during the turbulent reign of En-Ntsir, had so encroached on the post of Grand Vizier as to control not only the Royal Household, but the finances and Royal domains also. The title OstAd-dAr means literally chief master of the house. Makrizi, Mamlouks, t. i, pp. 25-27.

(76) Amir-Akhuir, assisted by the Sela-Khari or provider of the horses' food, and sometimes by a second Amir-Akhor, usually of the rank of Amirs of the TablkhAna or Decarions, or " Grand Ecuyer", to use the title of the corresponding French functionary. The assistant Amir-Akhors had the control of the different animals. Hence there were Amir-Akhors of the foals, of the camel stables, and sometimes of the oxen, the official in that case taking the title of Amir-Akhor as-SawAki ("the Amir-Akhor of the machines of irrigation"). Von Hammer, Des Osmaniscken Reicks Staats-Verfassuni, vol. ii, p. 409; Makrizi, Afamlouks, t. i, pp. 119, 120.

(77) Amir-Alf (commander of a thousand) is apparently the AmirAlam or Adjutant-general, who took charge of the Sultan's arms ("trattar l'arme del soldano").

(78) Amir-mia (commander of a hundred), a functionary not mentioned by Makrizi.

(79) Really the GAshenkir, or Taster, an office filled by the founder of the Mamluk kings to Melik Saleh.-Makrizi, Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks, t. i, p. 2.

(80) The Amir-SilAh, or chief Armour-bearer (SilAbdAr). In some MSS. of Abu-l-mahasen quoted by De Sacy (Makrizi, t. i, p. 159), it is mentioned that latterly the Amir-Silh became one of the chief dignitaries after the AtAbek-Amir el-Kebir.

(81) The Tisht-KhAna was the room in which the Royal robes, jewels, etc., were kept. The officials were called TishtdArs and Rakhtwa'nis, and were under the direction of two mihtars or superintendents. Makrizi, Mamlouks, t. i, p. 162.

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(82) The SharAbdars of the Sharib-Khana were under the control of one or two militars.

(83) The FirAsh-Khana was really the store-room.

(84) "Sebabatia, cio 6 gli staffieri."

The Sultan's pages were called Ojakis, and were evidently, from a passage in Makrizi (t. i, p. io8), a set of pampered, mischievous imps. In the reign of Melik Mozaffar Kutuz (A.D. 1260) they attacked the Christians of Damascus.

(85) Tabarkhatna, or Department of Tabardars (Halberdiers?), under the Amir-Tabar. The Tablkha'na was the drum department, the Amir of the Tablkhana being a very high functionary under the Mamluk Sultans. Many of these offices and customs, like the highly-prized privilege of keeping a private band, went out
when the Turks took possession of Egypt.-Lane-Poole, Art of the Saracens in Egypt, pp. 29-33; Makrizi, MWamlouks, t. i, p. 173.

(86) "Addavia" in the 1632 reprint, "Addauia" in the 1613 and early editions generally. According to Makrizi, the Amir Gandtr, a high official, introduced great persons to the Royal presence, commanded the gandtrs or equerries, and the Berd-dars or chamber attendants, and, besides having charge of the prison (zardkhAna), superintended executions and tortures. He was selected from the ranks of the Colonels (mukkadam) or Lords of the Drum.-Lane-Poole, lib. cit., p. 30.

(87) According to Makrizi, the couriers were called "Beridis". They travelled between Cairo and Damascus in four days.

(88) The "Ghtshia" was a Royal saddle-cloth embroidered with gold and precious stones. It was an emblem of sovereignty always carried before the Sultan by one of the great Amirs, whose rank on that account came to be called Ghishia. It sometimes means a club, a reunion-"those who habitually surround one man". Burton renders "Ghashiyah" as literally "a cover", or, as employed nowadays, "a saddle-cover carried by the groom"-Arabian Nights, vol. iv, p. 131; Makrizi, Manilouks, t. i, pp. 3-7. The "Escifia" of Leo appear to be the Khasseks, a grade of Mamluks always in attendance on the Sultan, and who accompanied the Mahmil to Mekka. They bore, after the Mamluk fashion, the lofty title of 'Kawimil al-Koffal" (the perfect administrators). -Makrizi, Maw louks, t. ii, pp. 158, 159.

(89) The "Khazindar" was the Mamluk treasurer.

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(90) The Ktim es-Sirr, the private secretary, who shared with the DewAdtr the conduct of the Sultan's correspondence. - Makrizi, Mamlouks, t. ii, p. I 15.

(91) There were various other secretaries, such as the KAtib ed-Derej (Cabinet Secretary), the KAtib el-InshA (Secretary of the Chancellery), etc. The Mushidd, a word of similar sound, designated an inspector.

(92) The " Mutesib" (muhiesib) is still a familiar official in all the Arab-speaking portions of Northern Africa, and even in Persia under the same name (Quatremre, in Makrizi, lib. cit., t. i, p. 114). The title is, however, spelt so variously by European travellers that it is sometimes almost beyond recognition. Thus, it is the "metassoup" of Albert (Etat de l'Egyfite, p. 8o), the "metasit" of Sequezzi (Revenus de lEgyfle, p. 89), the "metesseb" of Pococke (Descrij ft. of the East, vol. i, p. 165), the "moteheseb" of H6st (Efterretninger, p. 26o), "al motassen" of Ali Bey (Voyages, t. iii, p. 128, etc.). See also De Sacy, Chrestomathie Arabe, t. i, p. 468, et seq.; De Chabrol, Essai sur les mwvurs de l'Egypte, p. 515; Lane, Modern Egyftians, vol. I, pp. 154, 155.

(93) The Amir el-Hajj-"Lord of the Pilgrimage"-still a very important office, but no longer the costly dignity it was under the Mamluks.

(94) Gizeh. This favourite summer retreat of the Mamluks is now a village of wrecked houses and ruined bazaars. Last century there was a manufactory of sal
ammoniac here, and Savary notes the fields of sallflower (Carthamus tinctoria) in its vicinity.

(95) Probably Helwan or Alban, founded, or at least restored, by the Arabs under the Khalifate of Abd el-Melik. Abu-l-feda (ed. Reinaud, t. ii, p. 140) describes it as a "pleasant place" (Quatrem re, Mmoires Gdographiques et Historiques, etc., p. 25). The Egyptian fig is the Ficus Sycamorus.

(96) El-Khanka, a ruined town, little known except for being one of the places on the caravan route to Mekka. It and Birket el-Hajj, the rendezvous of the pilgrims, are frequently mentioned in old narratives. Thus, in the Prefetto of Egypt's journal (1722) from Cairo to Mount Sinai (Maundrell, A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, ed. 1810, pp. 222, 224, 272) places "called Chanke", chiefly inhabited by poor Bedaweens and " Ukalt El-bahaar", are noted.

(97) El-Masarah, on the route to the Baths of Helwan, though Leo does not mention the great quarries. He describes it as "dopo il Cairo sopra il Nilo". " Sesama" is the sesame (Sesamum Indicum) and S. Orientale) still extensively grown in Egypt for the oil, which is used as a cosmetic, and is preferred for cooking purposes to olive oil.

(98) Benisuef. The linen manufacture for which it was famous in Leo's day was revived by Mehemet Ali in 1826, and it is still prosperous so far as the weaving of coarse fabrics in demand by the fellaheen is concerned. When Savary visited the town in 1777, he found carpet weaving the only industry, though almost crushed under the exaction of the Bey, who collected "arbitrary taxes sword in hand". Benisuef is less than seventy-three miles by railway from Cairo, but the crocodile is not nowadays found further north than about the twentyseventh parallel, which is about 120 miles further south.

(99) Minieh, a prosperous town of about 10000 people, and the seat of a considerable sugar manufactory. It was called Minyet beni-1Khassib, after Al-Khassib, Controller of the Finances of Egypt under the Khalifate of Harun ar-Raschid, whose sons received the government of Upper Egypt during the Khalifate of Al-Mamun. The family had their residence here; but, as the remains of Romano-Grecian architecture show, they were not the founders of the place.

(100) Medinet el-Fayum, or Medinet el-Fares— the capital of Fayum, and hence generally called Medineh (" the City "). To the north of it is the site of Arsino6, or Crocodopolis, Arsino being the name by which the Copts still call Medinet el-Fayum. The legends repeated by Leo do not rest on any basis more solid than Arab imagination. Medinet el-Fayum is a comparatively modern town, our author expressly referring to the ancient city, relics of which, in the shape of mounds, are found in its vicinity. Abu-l-feda speaks of Al-Fayum as possessing many artizans, baths, markets and colleges, where the doctrines of ShAfī and Melek were taught. M. Reinaud considers Fayum an alteration of the Egyptian "Piom", which signifies a great mass of water. Ed. of Abu-l-feda, t. ii, 158; Champollion, L'Egypte sous les Pharaons, t. i, p. 325.
(IoI) Manfalut, from the Coptic Manbalut, the remains of which, Leo writes, no longer exist, but mounds exist in the neighbourhood; and though no notice is taken of it by Greek or Roman historians, the name occurs in Coptic MSS., and means (Quatremère, Mémóires Gdog. el historiques, t. i, p. 217) "the refuge of the wild asses ". Abu-l-feda (ed. Reinaud, t. ii, p. 156) describes Manfalut as a small town on the western (not the eastern, as translated by Quatremère, Reiske and Michaelis) bank of the Nile, with a single mosque. But when Mr. Richard Pococke, afterwards Bishop of Ossory (A Description of the East, 1745), visited the place, it stood, owing to alterations of the current, nearly a mile from the river. Now the stream has 3N 2

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...gained ground so rapidly that, unless the encroachments cease, the town must disappear. The crocodile mummy pits are at Maabdel, on the Jebel Abu-fayda. But the crocodiles described by Leo as haunting "the fields" ("e i cocodrilli fanno dimolti danni") are not now found so far to the north. In Makrizi's day, the Christians of Manfalut were so brotherly that they all worshipped at the Monastery of Benu Kelb. When Pococke made acquaintance with the place there were 200 Christians, whose church was at Narach.

(102) Asiut is still a place of considerable importance, though not so wealthy since the decay of its caravan trade with the Sudan. Except mounds, tombs, and grottoes, there are now few remains of the ancient city of which Leo speaks. The Patriarch Peter of Alexandria mentions Meletius, Bishop of Ywudur, who is elsewhere referred to as ME6-ig &6 A x r’ Onpcahotag. St. John of Lycopolis is called St. John of Soiofut by the Copts. (Illustrium Christi martyrum lecti triumphi, p. 20. Quatremère, Mémóires, t. i, P. 275.) The Arabs preserved the Coptic name in the modern designation of the town, which Abu-l-feda (ed. Reinaud, t. ii, p. 154) writes as Osíuth (Osyouth) or Soyouth.

(103) Ikhnin, or Akhmin, the successor of the Greek Chemmis (Xigtgï), or Panopolis (flayoroXi;), the Arabic name being a slight corruption of the Coptic Skmin. The remains of buildings erected by, or in honour of, Thothmes III, Ptolemy, son of Auletes, Diocletian, and other sovereigns, fully justify the Arab legends, to which Leo gives voice, about this being a very ancient city, though its foundation by Ikhmin, son of Misrain, "The son of Cush, which was the son [?] of Ham" (" Icmin figliuolo di Misrain, a cui tu padre Cus figliuolo di En" more correctly in the original Italian), is, as usual, apocryphal. Herodotus refers to Chemmis, and Strabo to Panopolis; and it is mentioned by Abu-l-feda, Ibn Haukal, Kaswini, El-Beki, Makrizi, and other Moslem historians. From Leo's account it seems to have suffered so much at the conqueror's hands-albeit, according to Herodotus, the citizens took more kindly to foreign (to wit, Greek) customs than the rest of the Egyptians. Dulnum, who wrote the El-Mlejdrabet (Experiments), was a native of Ikhmin, as was also Perseus, to whom his descendants ordained festivals here, which rivalled those to Pan, after whom the city was named. For remains of serpent worship here see Savary, Letters, vol. i, p. 465. When Pococke visited it in 1737, Ikhmin was governed by a Berber Amir.
But, like the Howara and other Moghrebin tribes once extending to Egypt (Khalil-Dahery in De Sacy, Chrestomathie arabe, t. i, pp. 242, 243, 247; Quatremere, Mdnnoires, t. ii, p. 2oo, et seq.), the Berber princes of Ikhmin have vanished. These Howara rulers were probably those.

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referred to by Leo in his account of Menshiyeh. But in that case there is a slight obscurity; for, leaving out of account the fact that they were in power until at least 1737, there was never any "imperadore de' Turchi" called "Sulieman nono"; what Leo means is probably that the princes in question were (more or less temporarily) suppressed-which is extremely likely-by Selim I on his conquest of Egypt, and that Selim was the ninth Emperor of Turkey, unless, indeed, Solyman ("the magnificent"), who was the tenth Sultan, and reigned from 1520 to 1566, is intended. The "Dalmatian Slave", to whom tradition assigned the elevation of the Menshiyeh Berber chief, was Gowher.

(104) Menshiyeh, the Coptish Psoi, the capital of a Greek Nome of the same name, though it is improbable that the place, not apparently at any time extensive, occupies the site of Ptolemais Hermii, a town as large as Thebes.

(05) Girgeh, or St. George's, a considerable town named from the Coptic convent sacred to the patron saint of Egypt and of England. When Pococke and Norden visited it the town was a quarter of a mile from the Nile. Now we learn (Murray, Guide Book, p. 233) that by the pressure of the river on the eastern bank, part of the place has been washed away.

(106) There are many Coptic monasteries in this region. The one named Chean (Khean) is too loosely located to be identified with certainty. But both the huge village monastery of (in the Egyptian Arabic) Dayr el-abiad, or Amba Shenudeh, and Dayr el-ahmar, or Amba Bishoi, correspond in some degree to Leo's description.

(107) Denderah, where, close to a modern village of that name, there is a Ptolemaic temple to Venus, and other ruins. Tentyres, the village of crocodile-hunters, stood here.

(108) Keneh, the site of the ancient Caenopolis or Neapolis. It still does a great trade with Kosseir (Chossir), Yambo (Iambuh, Emba), and Jiddah. It is actually about eighty miles from the Red Sea.

(109) Esneh is confounded by Leo with Syene, which was Assuan, a blunder followed by Sicard (Mim. des Missions, t. ii, p. 183), Vansleb, and others. Strabo (lib. xvi, p. 817), Ptolemy (lib. iv, cap. 5), and the Antonine itinerary (p. 160) mention Latopolis, and in the Notitia dignitatum imfierii (ed. Labbe, p. 320) a corps of Egyptian archers is referred to as stationed at this city. Edrisi and Al-Adfai (cited by Makrizi) also speak of Esneh; but if the Ansena of Abu-l-

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feda was opposite Oshmunayn (ed. Reinaud, p. 157) it could not have been Esneh, but the modern village of Sheikh Abadeb, the site of the ancient Antinoe, also still
called Ansena. It was a "city of magicians", from which, according to the Arabs, Pharaoh brought the conjurors to compete with Moses in miracle working. Hartmann (Edrisii Africa, p. 505) and Quatremere (Mémories, t. i, p. 273) seem to fancy Abu-l-feda's Ansena identical with Leo's Asna.

(i 10) Asuan, Aswan, or Oswan, occupies the site of the ancient Syene, the Arabic name being, however, a corruption by prefixing an I of the Coptic Su an or Senou. This town, situated at EshShellal or the First Cataract of the Nile, 730 miles from the Mediterranean, ended Leo's voyage, as it has terminated that of so many less famous tourists. Beyond, he was correctly enough informed, there were many ruins. But the most extraordinary circumstance connected with Leo's Nile voyage is that he passed close to the actual Thebes, evidently without being aware of that remarkable remnant of the ancient greatness of Egypt. Luxor, the site of the Greek and Roman Diospolis, he must have seen, but before reaching that point he had become blasd about infidel antiquities. At all events, he went up to Asuan and back again to Keneh, whence he crossed to Kosseir on the Red Sea without noticing Koptos (Kobt) or Karnak. Otherwise, his description is fairly complete. Asuan is still-or was until the Sudan was partially closed to caravans-a great place of trade with inner Africa, Suakim and the Red Sea ports, and the population is about as mixed (as Leo declares) as the language of the races beyond the First Cataract. In those days this region was dominated by the Bejas, the Egyptian jurisdiction ending, as did latterly the Roman rule, at Asuan (Strabo, lib. 17).

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JOHN LEO 

HIS

NINTH BOOKE OF

the H istorie of Africa, and

of the memorable tkings

therein contained.

Wherein he entreateth of the principall riuers, and

of the strange liuing creatures, plants, and

minerals of the same countrey.

Of the riuer of Tensist.

He riuer of *Tensist (that we may Or Tnsif. begin in Barbarie from the westerne part of Africa) springing foorth of 0 : the mountaines of Atlas which are 0 next vnto the citie of Hanimmei, to witte, about the east part of the territorie of Maroco, and continuing his course northwarde over the plaines, receiueth many other riuers thereinto, and at Azafi a towne of Duccala dischargeth his streames into the maine Ocean. Into this mightie riuer of Tensist fall two other great riuers, called Siffelmel and Niffis; the one whereof springeth out of Hanteta a mountaine of Maroco ; and the other issuing foorth of mount Atlas neere vnto Maroca, and winding it selfe along the plaines of that region, disemboqueth at last into the saide mightie riuer. And albeit the riuer Tensist be for the most part of an exceeding depth, yet

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may it in diuers places be waded ouer, where the water reacheth vn to the stirrups of an horsem an: but a footemen must strippe himselfe naked to passe ouer the same. Neere vn to Maroco there is a bridge of fifteene arches builte by king Mansor vpon this riu er: which bridge is accounted one of the most curious buildings in all Africa. Three of the saide arches were demolished by Abu Dubus the last king and patriarke of Maroco, to the ende he might hinder the passage of Jacob the first Fezs an king of the Main familie: but this attempt of his was to none effect, as it sufficiently appeered by the successe thereof Of the two riuers called Teseuhin. The two riuers called by this one name, springing each of them, three miles asunder, out of mount Gugideme, and running through the plaines of Hascora, exonerate themselues into the riu er called Lebich. These two riuers (as I haue said) haue one onely name, being either of them (according to the African language) called Teseut in the singular number, and in the plural Teseuhin, which signifieth listes or borders. Of Quadehabid, that is to say, the riu er of servuants. Q Vadelhabid taking his original among the high and chill mountaines of Atlas, and running through certaine narrow and vnneuuen valleis, holdeth on his course by the confines of Hascora and Tedle, and then stretching northward ouer a certaine plaine, falleth at length into the riu er of Ommirabih. In Maie when the snow melteth, this riu er increaseth to some bignes. Of the riu er q Ommirabik. The mightie riu er of Ommirabih issuing also forth of The lofty mountaines of Atlas where the province of Tedle bordereth vpon the kingdome of Fez, passeth through certain plaines called Adachfun, and being afterward streitned among the narrow valleis, it runneth vn der a stately bridge built by Ibulhasen the fourth king of the Marin family: from thence trending southward it watereth the plaines situate between the regions of Duccala and Temesne, and lastly disburdeneth it selfe vnder the wals of Azamor into the maine Ocean. About the end of Maye they take great store of fishes in this riu er called by the Italians Lasche, wherwith all Azamur being sufficiently stored, they salt the said fishes and send many ships ful of them into Portugall. Of the riu er of Buregrag. B Vregrag arising out of one of the mountaines of Atlas, and continuing his course by sundrie vallies, woods, and hills, proceedeth ouer a certaine plaine, and neere vn to the townes of Sala and Rabat, being the vtmost frontiers of the Fezs an kingdome, it falleth into the Ocean sea. Neither haue the two foresaid townes any other port or harbour, but within the mouth of the said riu er onely, which is so difficult to enter, that vnlesse the pilote be throughly acquainted with the place, he is in great hazard of running his ship vpon the shoulds : which shoulds serue instead of bulwar kes to defend either towne from the fleets of the Christians.
Of the riuver of Baht.
T HIs riuver issuing foorth of mount Atlas, stretcheth
northward by the woods and mountaines, and running among certaine little hils,
disperseth it selfe vpon the plaines of the provinie of Azgar, and from thence it
falleth into certaine fens, lakes, and moist vallieys, where they take great store of
eele, and of the foresaid fishes called Lasche. The inhabitants liue vpon cattell,
and fishing, and by reason of the plentie of milke, fish, and

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butter which they eate, they are much subject vnto the disease called in Italian
Morphia. This riuver may continually be waded ouer, except it be much increased
by abundance of raine and melted snowe.
Of the riuver of Subu.
T He riuver of Subu beginneth vpon mount Selilgo,
standing in Cheuz, a provinie of the Fezsan kingdome. And it springeth out of a
great fountaine in the midst of a vaste and solitarie woode, and runneth by diuers
mountaines and hils : from whence extending vpon the plaines, it approcheth
within sixe miles of Fez, diuideth in sunder the regions of Habat and Azgar, and
at length about Mahmora, a place not farre from Sala, exonerateth it selfe into the
Ocean sea. Into this river fall diuers others, two of which, namely Guarga and
Aodor, spring out of the mountaines of Gumera, and the residue from the
mountaine of the territorie of Teza. And although Subu be a large riuver, yet may
it in sondry places be waded ouer, except in winter and the spring, when it cannot
be crossed but in certaine dangerous and small boats. The same riuver also which
runneth through the citie of Fez called in the language of that country, The riuver
of perles, entereth into the foresaid riuver of Subu. This riuver of Subu aboundeth
exceedingly with fish, and especially with the foresaid fishes called Lasche,
which are there of no reckoning. The mouth thereof neere vnto the Ocean sea,
being very deepe and broad, is nauigable for ships of great burthen, as the
Portugals and Spaniards haue found by often experience: and were not the
inhabitants so slothfull, it might vsually and commodiously be sailed vpon: yea, if
the corne which is carried by the merchants of Fez ouer land through the region of
Azgar, were conuighed by water vp this riuver, it might be solde at Fez for half
the price.
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HISTORIE OF AFRICA.
Of the riuver of Lucus.
L Vccus issuing forth of the mountaines of Gumera, and
stretching westward ouer the plaines of Hebat and Azgar, passeth by the city of
Casar Elcabir, and neere vnto Harais a city of Azgar vpon the borders of Habat,
dischargeth it selfe into the main Ocean: in the mouth of this riuver lyeth the hauen
of the foresaid city, being very difficult to enter.
Of the riuver of Mulullo.
M Vlullo arising out of mount Atlas betweene the cities
of Teza, and Dubdu, runneth through the dessert and barren plaines of Terrest and Tasrata, and at length exonerateth it selfe into the riuier Muluia.

Of the riuier of Muluna.

He famous riuier of *Muluna taking his originall from * OrMuliua. That part of Atlas which is situate in the region of Cheuz, about flue and twentye miles from the citie of Gherzeluin, and passing ouer dishabited and drie plaines, as also amidst the deserts of Angad and of Garet, and by the foote of mount Beni Ieznaten, falleth not farre from the towne of Chasasa into the Mediterranean sea. This riuier a man may wade ouer alwaies in sommer, in the mouth whereof are caught most excellent fishes.

Of the riuier of Za.

His riuier springing out of mount Atlas runneth through a certaine plaine of the desert of Angad, whereas the kingdomes of Fez and of Telensin confine one vpon an other: which though it be exceeding deepe, yet neuer did I see the water thereof thicke or muddie. It aboundeth with fishes, but the inhabitants being destitute of fit instruments, can not take them, neither indeed be the waters conuenient to fish vpon, bicause they are so cleere.

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Of the riuier of Tefne.

The small riuier of Tefne issuing foorth of the mountaines bordering vpon Numidia, and continuing a northerly course ouer the desert of Angad, falleth into the Mediterranean sea, about fifteene miles from Telensin, and it affourdeth nought but a fewe small fishes.

Of the riuier Mina.

His riuier flowing out of certaine mountaines neere vnto Tegdent, passeth through the fieldes of the citie of Batha, and thence runneth northerly into the Mediterranean sea.

Of the riuier Sele.

This great river falling from the mountaines of TGuanferis, and descending through barren plaines to the confines of the kingdomes of Telensin and Tenez, separateth Mezagran from Mustuganin, and then entreth into the Mediterranean sea : in the mouth of which riuier are caught very excellent fishes of diuers kinds.

Of the riuier Sessaia.

This small riuier beginning from mount Atlas, passeth vnto the plaine of Mettegia neere vnto Alger, and not farre from the ancient towne of Temendesust dischargeth it selfe into the Mediterranean sea.

Of that which is called The great riuier.

This riuier ariseth out of the mountaines adioining vpon the region of Zeb, from whence running along, it disemboqueth into the Mediterranean sea about three miles from Bugia. It ouerfloweth not but in rainie and snowie weather: neither use the people of Bugia to fish therein, hauing the sea so neere them,
HISTORIE OF AFRICA.

Of the riuere called Susgnare.
T springeth out of the mountaines bordering vpon mount Auras, and passeth on through the barren fields vnto the territorie of the citie Constantina, and gliding along by the borders thereof, it receiueth a small riuere; and so holding a Northerly course it falleth into the Mediterran sea about the same place where it separateth the fields of Chollo from the fieldes of the castle called Iegel.

Of the riuere fadog.
T His small riuere issuing foorth of the mountaines neere Constantina, and stretching by the same mountaines towards the east, disburdeneth it selfe into the sea not farre from the citie of Bona.

Of the riuere called Guadilbarbar.
T proceedeth out of certaine mountaines adioining vpon the fieldes of the citie called Vrbs, and gliding by the hils and mountaines, it runneth in such a crooked chanell, that such as trauell from Bona to Tunis, must crosse ouer it without either boates or bridges aboue twentie times. And so at length it falleth into the sea not farre from the forsaken port of Tabraca, and about fifteene miles from the citie of Bege.

Of the riuere of Megerada.
T He mightie riuere of Megerada springing foorth of the mountaines neere vnto the citie Tebessa, vpon the borders of the province of Zeb, continueth a northerly course, vntil at a place called Gharel Meleh, fortie miles distant from Tunis it exonerateth it selfe into the Mediterran sea. In rainie weather it so increaseth, that trauellers, bicause there are neither boates nor bridges, are constrained to staie two or three daies by the riuers side till it be de-

THE NINTH BOOKE OF THE A riuere of hot and salt water.
* Or Guartguessen.
creased, especially within sixe miles of Tunis. And hereby you may see how the Africans of these times degenerate both in wit and courage from the ancient Africans, who made the people of Rome to tremble so often at their valour.

Of the riuere of Capis.
T proceedeth from a certaine southerne desert, and passing through sandie plaines, falleth into the sea by a towne of that very name. The water thereof is salt, and so hot, that whosoeuer listeth to drinke of it, must set it a cooling for the space of an hower. Thus much concerning the principall riuers of Barbarie : let vs nowe procede on to describe the Numidian riuers.

Of the riuers of Numidia ; and first of the riuere called Sus.
T He great riuere of Sus flowing out of the mountaines of Atlas, that separate the two prouinces of Hea and Sus in sunder, runneth southward among the saide mountaines, stretching into the fields of the foresaid region, and from thence trending westward vnto a place called
* Gurtuessen, where it dischargeth it selfe into the maine Ocean. In winter time it mightily overfloweth, but in sommer it is verie shallow.

Of the riuuer of Darba.

T His riuuer taking his originall from mount Atlas about the confines of Hascora, passeth southward to the prouince called Darha: from whence proceeding through the deserts, it is dispersed among certaine fieldes and pastures, where bicause of the abundance of grasse, the Arabians feeede their camels. In sommer it is so dried vp, that a man shall not wet his shooes in going ouer it: but it so increaseth in winter, that it cannot be passed ouer in boats. And by extreme heate of the sunne the waters thereof prooue bitter.

Of the riuuer of Ziz.

T His riuuer springing out of the mountaines of Atlas inhabited by the people called Zanaga, and running along by many other mountaines and by the city of Gherseluin, holdeth on his course through the fields of Cheneg, Metgara, and Reteb, and entreth the territorie of the 'ci ty Segelmesse: from whence it prooeedeth by the desert castle of Sugaithila, and beyond the said castle falleth into a lake amidst the sandie deserts, where no inhabitants are to be found, whither notwithstanding the Arabian hunters vsually resort, for that they finde great store of game there.

Of the riuuer of Ghir.

T HE riuuer of Ghir issuing also forth of Mount Atlas, stretcheth southward by certaine deserts, and then passing through the region of Benigumi, transformeth it selfie likewise into a lake in the very midst of the deserts.

Whereas in the beginning of this my discourse, intreating of the diuision of Africa, I described the riuuer called by Ptolemey Niger, it would he re be superfluous to make any repetition thereof: wherefore let vs now proceede vnto the description of Nilus.

Of the mghtie riuuer of Nilus.

HE course of this riuuer is in very deed most admirTable, and the creat ures therein contained are exceeding strange, as namely sea-horses, sea-oxen, crocodiles, and other such monstrous and cruel beasts, (as we will afterward declare) which were not so hurtfull either in the ancient times of the Egyptians or of the Romaines, as

THE NINTH 130OKE OF THE

Sundry opinions concerning Nilus.

they are at this present: but they became more dangerous euer since the Mahumetans were lords of Egypt. MIeshudi in his treatise of the memorabe things of his time, reporeth that when Humeth the sonne of Thaulon was lieutenant of Egypt vnder Gibsare Mlutauichil the Califa of Bagdet, namely in the yeere of the Hegeira 270. there was a certaine leaden image about the bignes of a crocodile found among the ruines of an old Egyptia temple, which in regard of the
Hieroglyphick characters & constellations, engraven theron, serued instead of an enchantment against all crocodiles; but so soone as the saide lieutenant caused it to be broken in pieces, the crocodiles began then to invade men, and to doe much mischiefe. Howbeit what the reason should be, why the crocodiles betweene Cairo and the Mediterraen sea are harmlesse, and those aboue Cairo towards the maine land, should deuoure and kill so many persons, it goeth beyond my skill to determine. But, to returne vnto the description of Nilus, it increaseth (as we have saide) for the space of fortie daies, beginning from the seuenteenth of June; and it continueth just so long time in decreasing. For whereas in the higher Ethiopia it raineth most abundantly about the beginning of May, the course and inundation of the water is hindered all the moneth of May, & some part of June, before it can attaine vnto the plaine countrey of Egypt. Concerning the originall fountaine of this riever, there are manifold opinions, and all of them uncertaine. Some there are which affirme the same to spring out of the mountaines, called by themselues, The mountaines of the moone; and others say that it beginneth vpon certaine plaines situate beneath the foote of the saide mountaines, and issueth out of sundrie fountaines, being a great way distant one from another. Howbeit the former of these two auouch, that Nilus with great violence falleth down from the saide mountaines into certaine deepe caues vnder the ground, and commeth forth againe at the foresaid fountaines. Both of which opinions are false: for neuer did any man as yet see where Nilus taketh his originall. The Ethiopian merchants which resort for traffike vnto the citie of Dancala, affirme that Nilus towards the south is enlarged into such a mightie lake, that no man can perceiue which way the course thereof trendeth: and that afterward being diuided into manifold branches running in saueral chanel, and stretching themselues east and west, it hindereth the passage of traueliers, so that they cannot compass those intricate windings and turnings. Likewise diuers Ethiopians inhabiting vpon the plaines in manner of the Arabians, say that many of them trauelling flue hundred miles southward to seeke their camels which were straied away in the heate of their lust, found Nilus to be in all places alike, that is to say, dispersed into manifolde armes and lakes, and that they discouered sundrie desert and barren mountaines, where the foresaid Meshudi affirmeth emraluds to be found : which seemeth more probable then that which the same author affirmeth concerning savage men, which wander vp and downe like wilde goates, and feede vpon the grasse of the deserts in manner of beasts. But if I recorded all the fables which our writers report concerning Nilus, I shoulde seeme ouer tedious vnto the Reader.

Of the strange beasts and other liuing creatures of Africa. My purpose is not in this discourse to make a compleate history of the liuing creatures in Africa, but only of such as are either not to be founde in Europe, or such as differ in any respect from those that are founde: And heere I intend to describe in order certaine beasts, fishes, and foules, omitting...
many things reported by Plinie, who was doubtlesse a man of rare and singular learning, not
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withstanding by the default and negligence of certaine authors which wrote before
him, he erred a little in some small matters concerning Africa: howbeit a little
blemish ought not quite to disgrace all the beautie of a faire and
amiable bodie.
Of the Elephant.
T His witty beast keepeth in the woods, & is found in
great numbers in the forrests of the land of Negros.
They use to go many in one company; and if they chance to meet with any man,
they either shun him or give place vnto him. But if the Elephant intendeth to hurt
any man, he casteth him on the ground with his long snout or trunk, & neuer
ceaseth trampling vpon him till he be dead.
And although it is a mightie and fierce beast, yet are there great store of them
caught by the Ethiopian hunters in manner following. These hunters being
acquainted with The manner of the woodes and thickets where they keepe, use to
make taking elephants among the trees a rounde hedge of strong boughes and
Ethiopia. raftes, leauing a space open on the one side therof, and
likewise a doore standing vpon the plaine grounde which may bee lift vp with
ropes, wherewith they can easily stoppe the said open place or passage. The
elephant therefore comming to take his rest vnder the shady boughes, entreth the
hedge or inclosure, where the hunters by drawing the saide rope and fastening the
doore hauing imprisoned him, descend downe from the trees, and kill him with
their arrows, to the end they may get his teeth and make sale of them. But if the
elephant chafeth to break through the hedge, he murthereth as many men as he
can finde. In Ethiopia the higher, and India, they haue other deuises to take the
elephant, which least I
should seeme ouer-tedious, I passe ouer in silence.
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Of the beast called Giraffa.
T His beast is so sauage and wilde, that it is a very rare
matter to see any of them: for they hide themselves among the deserts and
woodes, where no other beasts use to come; and so soone as one of them espie a
man, it flieth forthwith, though not very swiftly. It is headed like a camell, eared
like an oxe, and footed like a * :: Here is a word wanting
neither are any taken by hunters, but while they are very in the original.
yoong.
Of the Camell.
C Amels are gentle and domesticall beasts, and are
found in Africa in great numbers, especially in the deserts of Libya, Numidia, and
Barbaria. And these the Arabians esteeme to be their principall possessions and
riches: so that speaking of the wealth of any of their princes or governors, he hath (say they) so many thousand camels, and not so manie thousand ducates. Moreover the Arabians that possesse camels, Hue like lords and potentates in great libertie, because they can remaine with their camels in barren deserts, whither no kings nor princes can bring armies to subdue them. These kindes of beasts are to be seene in * all parts of the worlde, to wit, in Asia, *In all Parts of the world Africa, and Europe. And they are vsed in Asia by the wich the author at that Tartars, the Curdians, the Dalemians, and the Turcomans. time knew. In Europe the Turkes vse them to carrie burthens vpon, as likewise do all the Arabians in Africa, and the inhabitants of the Lybian deserts ; yea kings in their armies vse camels also, to conueigh their victuals and carriages: howbeit the African camels farre excell them of Asia; for trauailing fortie or fiftie daies together, without any prouender at all, they are vnladen in the euening, and The African camels are the turned loose into the next fieldes, where they feede vpon best. grasse, brambles, and the boughes of trees; which hardnes 302

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the camels of Asia cannot endure, but when they set froorth any iourney, they must be well pampered and full of flesh. Experience hath taught, that our camels hauing trauailed laden fiftie daies togethuer without any prouender ; haue so wasted, first the flesh of their bunches, secondly of their bellies, and lastly of their hips, that they haue scarce bee able to carry the weight of IOO. pounds. But the merchants of Asia gue their camels prouender, halfe of them being laden with wares, and the other halfe with prouender, and so their whole carouan of camels goeth froorth and returneth home laden: by which meanes they keepe them in good plight, and reape double gaines by their labour.
Contrariwise the African merchants trauailing with merchandise into Ethiopia, bicause they returne emptie, and bringe backe with them things of no great weight, so soone as they arriue with their leane and galled camels in Ethiopia, they sell them halfe for nought vnto the inhabitants of the deserts. And they that returne into Barbarie or Numidia, need very fewe camels; namely for themselves to ride vpon, for to carrie their victuals, their money, and Three kinds other light commodities. Of camels there are three kinds; of camels. whereof the first being called Hugiun are grosse, and of a tall stature, and most fit to carrie burthens, but ere foure yeeres end they grow unprofitable : after which time euery camell but of meane stature will carry a thousand pounds of Italian weight. When any of the saide camels is to be laden, being beaten vpon his knees and necke with a wande, he kneeleth downe, and when he feeleth his load sufficient, he riseth vp againe. And the Africans vse to gelde their camels which they keepe for the burthen, putting but one male camell among ten femals. The second kinde of camels called Becheti, and hauing a double Camels of a bunch, are fit both to carrie burthens, and to ride vpon: woonderfull
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albeit they are vnfit to carry burthens yet do they so excell the two other kindes in swiftness, that in the space of one day they will trauell an hundred miles, and will so continue ouer the deserts for eight or ten daies together with very little prouender: and these doe the principal Arabians of Numidia and the Moores of Libya vsually ride vpon. When the king of Tombuto is desirous to sende any message of importance vnto the Numidian merchants with great celeritie, his post or messenger riding vpon one of these camels, will runne from Tombuto to Darha or Segelmesse, being nine hundred miles distant, in the space of eight daies at the farthest: but such as trauell must be expert in the way through the deserts, neither will they demaund lesse than fiue hundred ducates for euery iourn ey. The saide camels about the beginning of the spring inclining to their lust and venerie, do not onely hurt one another, but also will deadly wound such persons as haue done them any injury in times past, not forgetting light and easie stripes: and whomssoever they lay holde on with their teeth, they lift him vp on high, and cast him downe againe, trampling vpon him with their feete, and in this madde moode they continue fortie daies togither. Neither are they so patient of hunger as of thirst; for they will abstaine from drinke, without any inconuenience, for The camels great abstififteen daies togither: and if their guides water them once nencefrom in three daies, they doe them great hurt, for they are not vsually watred but once in flue or nine daies, or at an vrgent necessitie, once in fifteene daies. Moreouer the saide camels are of a gentle disposition, and are indued as it were with a kinde of humaine reason: for when as betweene Ethiopia and Barbarie they haue a daies iourney to trauell more than their woont, their masters cannot driue them on, being so tired, with whips, but are faine to sing certaine songs vnto them; wherewith being exceedingly delighted, they performe their iourney with such

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How the Camels of Cairo learne to dance.

swiftnes, that their saide masters are scarce able to follow them. At my being in Cairo I sawe a camell dance; which arte of dancing howe he learned of his master I will heere in fewe words report. They take a yoong camell, and put him for halfe an hower togither into a place like a bathstoue prepared for the same purpose, the floore whereof is het with fire: then play they without vpon a drum, whereat the camell, not so much in regard of the noise, as of the hot pauement which offendeth his feete, lifteth vp one legge after another in maner of a dance, and hauing beene accustomed vnto this exercise for the space of a yeere or ten
moneths, they then present him vnto the publike view of the people, when as hearing the noise of a drum, and remembering the time when he trode vpon the hot floore, he presently falleth a dancing and leaping: and so, vse being turned into a kind of nature, he perpetually obserueth the same custome. I could here report other matters concerning the same beast, which for breuities sake I omit.

Of the horse of Barbarie.

T His name is giuen vnto the Barbarie horses throughout Italy and all Europe, because they come forth of Barbarie, and are a kinde of horses that are bred in those regions; but they which so thinke are deceiued: for the horses of Barbarie differ not in any respect from other horses: but horses of the same swiftnes & agilitie are in the Arabian toong called throughout all Egypt, Syria, Asia, Arabia Felix, and Deserta, by the name of Arabian horses: and the historiographers affirme, that this kinde of wilde horses, ranging vp and downe the Arabian deserts, and being broken and managed by the Arabians euer since the time of Ismael, haue so exceedingly multiplied and increased, that they haue replenished the most part of Africa: which opinion sauoureth of truth; for euen at this 942

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present there are great store of wilde horses founde both in the African and Arabian deserts. And I myselfe sawe in the Numidian desert a wilde colte of a white colour, and having a curled mane. The most certaine triall of these horses is when they can ouertake the beast called Lant or the Ostrich in a race: which if they be able to performe, they are esteemed woorth a thousand ducats or an hundred camels. Howbeit very fewe of these horses are brought vp in Barbarie, but the Arabians that inhabite the deserts, and the people of Libya bring vp great numbers of them, vsing them not for trauell or warfare, but onely for hunting, neither do they give them any other meate but the milke of camels, and that twise euery Horsesfede with camels day and night, to the ende they may keepe them nimble, milk, liuely, and of spare flesh; and in the time of grasse they suffer them to feede in pastures, but then they ride not vpon them. But those that the princes of Barbarie bring vp, are not of such swiftnes, but being fede with prouender, are more beautifull and comely to the eie; and these they vse vpon an vrgent necessitie, when they woulde escape the danger of their enimies.

Of the wilde horse.

T He wilde horse is one of those beasts that come seldome in sight. The Arabians of the desert take the wilde horse and eat him, saying that the younger the horse be, the sweeter is his flesh: but he will hardly be taken either with horses or dogs. In the waters where this beast keepeth they lay certaine snares, couering them ouer with sand, wherein his foote being caught he is intangled and slaine.

Of the beast called Lant or Dant.

T His beast in shape resembleth an oxe, sauing that he hath smaller legs and comelier horns. His haire is white, and his hoofs are as blakke as iet, and he is so 943
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Targets made of a skin.

exceeding swift, that no beast can ouertake him, but onely the Barbary horse, as is
beforesaid. He is easlier caught in sommer then in winter, because that in regard
to the extreme fretting heat of the sand his hoofs are then strained and set awry,
by which meanes his swiftnes is abated, like as the swiftnes of stagges & roe-deer.

Of the hide of this beast are made shields and targets of great defence, which will
not be pierced but onely with the forcible shot of a bullet; but they are sold at an
extreame price.

Of the wilde oxe.

T resembleth the tame oxe, saue that it is lesse in
stature, being of a gray or ashe-color, and of great swiftnes. It haunteth either the
deserts, or the confines of the deserts. And the flesh thereof (they say) is very
saury.

Of the wild asse.

T His beast also being found either in the deserts or
vpon the borders thereof, is of an ash-colour. In swiftnes they are surpassed onely
by the Barbary horses, and when they see a man, they bray out a loud, kicking
and wincing with their heeles, and standing stone-still, till one approacheth so near
them, that he may touch them with his hand & then they betake themselves to
flight. By the Arabians of the deserts they are caught with snares, and other
engines. They goe in companies either when they feede or water themselues.

Their flesh is hot and vnsauorie, and hath a wilde tast : but being set a cooling two
dayes after it is sodden, it becometh very saury and pleasant.

Of the oxen vpon the mountaines of Africa.

A Ll the oxen vpon the mountaines of Africa being tame cattell are of so meane a
stature, that in comparison of other oxen they seeme to be but heifers of two
yeeres

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old: but the mountaineres, vsing them to the plough, say that they are strong and
will indure much labour.

Of the beast called Adimmain.

T is a tame beast, beeing shaped like a ramme, and of
the stature of an asse, and hauing long and dangle
cares. The Libyans vse these beasts instead of kine, and make of their milke great
store of cheese and butter. They haue some wooll, though it be but short. I my
selfe vpon a time being merily disposed, road a quarter of a mile vpon the backe
of one of these beasts. Very many of them are in the deserts of Libya, and but few
in other places : and it is a rare matter to see one of them in the Numidian fields.
Of the African Ramme.

T Here is no difference betweene these rammes of Africa
and others, saue onely in their tailes, which are of a great thicknes, being by so
much the grosser, but how much they are more fatte, so that some of their tailes
waigh tenne, and other twentie pounds a peece, and they become fatte of their owne naturall inclination: but in Egypt there are diuers that feede them fatte with bran and barly, vntill their tailes growe so bigge that they cannot remoue themselfes from place to place: insomuch that those which take charge of them are faine to binde little carts vnder their tailes, to the end they may haue strength to walke. I my selfe sawe at a citie in Egypt called Asiot, and standing vpon Nilus, about an hundred and fiftie miles from Cairo, one of the saide rams tailes that weighed fowerscore pounds, and others affirmed that they had seene one of those tailes of an hundred and fiftie pounds weight. All the fatte therefore of this beast consisteth in his taile; neither is there any of them to be founde but onely in Tunis and in Egypt.

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Of the Lyon.

The Lyon is a most fierce and cruell beast, being hurtfull vnto all other beasts, and excelling them both in strength, courage, and crueltie, neither is he onely a deuourer of beasts, but of men also. In some places one Lyon will boldly encounter two hundred horsemen. They range without all feare among the flocks and droues of cattell, and whatsoever beast they can lay holde on, they carry it into the next woode vnto their whelpes: yea some Lyons there are (as I haue before said) that will vanquish and kill flue or sixe horsemen in one companie. Howbeit such Lyons as liue vpon the colde mountaines are not so outragious and cruell: but the hotter the places be where they keepe, the more raunous and bolde are they, as namely vpon the frontiers of Temesna, and of the kingdome of Fez, in the desert of Angad neere Telensin, and betweene the citie of Bona and Tunis, all which are accounted the most famous and fierce Lyons in all Africa. In the spring, while they are giuen to lust and vnerie, they haue most fierce and bloudie conflicts one with an other, eight or twelue Lions following after one Lyonesse. I haue heard many both men and women report, that if a woman chanceth to meete with a Lyon, and sheweth him her priuie parts, he will with crying and roaringe, cast his eies vpon the grounde and so depart. Beleeue it they that list. But this I am well assured of, that whatsoever a Lyon getteth in his pawes, though it be a camell, he will carrie it away. I my selfe was twice in great hazard to haue beene deuoured of Lyons, but by the goodnes of God I escaped them.

Of the Leopard.

These beasts liuing in the woods of Barbarie, will not for all their great strength and crueltie hurt any man, vnlesse it be very seldom, when as they meeete with a

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man in a narrow passage, and cannot shun him, or when they are checked and prouoked vnto furie: for then they will flie vpon a man, laying holde vpon his visage with their talents, and plucking off so much flesh as they can catch,
insomuch that sometimes they will crush his braines in peeces. They inuade not any flockes or droues of tame cattell, but are at deadly feude with dogs, whom they will kill and deuoure. The mountaineers of the region of Constantina hunt them on horsebacke, stopping all passages where they might escape. The Leopard ranging vp and downe, and finding euyer place so besette with horsemen that he cannot get away, windeth and turneth himselfe on all sides, and so becommeth a fit marke for the hunters to discharge their darts and arrowes vpon. But if the Leopard chanceth to escape, that man that lets him passe, is bounde by an usuall custome to inuite the residue of the hunters vnto a banquet.

Of the beast called JDabuh.
T His beast called by the Arabians Dabuh, and by the Africans Iesef, in bignes and shape resembleth a woolfe, saveing that his legges and feete are like to the legs and feete of a man. It is not hurtful vnto any other beast, but will rake the carkeises of men out of their graues, and will deuoure them, being otherwise an abiect and silly creature. The hunters being acquainted with his denne, come before it singing and playing vpon a drum, by which melodie being allured foorth, his legs are intrapped in a strong rope, and so he is drawne out and siaine.

Of the ciuet-cat.
T Hese Cattes are naturally wilde, and are found in the woods of Ethiopia. The merchants taking their yoong whelpes or kittes, feede them with milke, branne, and The Manner of gathering flesh, and keepe them in cages or grates. But their odori-

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ferous excrement (which is nought else but their sweat) they gather twice or thrise
every day in manner following: first they drive them vp and downe the grate with
a wande, till they sweate, and then they take the saide sweate from under their flanke,
their shoulders, their neckes, and their tailes: which excrement of sweate is
commonly called ciuit.

Of the Ape.
O F Apes there are diuers and sundrie kindes, those which haue tailes, being called in the African toong Monne, and those which haue none, Babuimi. They are found in the woods of Mauritania, and vpon the mountaines of Bugia and Constantina. They represent the shape of man, not onely in their feete and hands, but also in their visages, and are naturally indued with woonderfull witte and subteltie. They liue vpon grasse and corne, and go in great companies to feede in the corne fieldes, and one of their companie which standeth centinell or keepeth watch and ward vpon the borders, when he dispieth the husbandman comming, he crieth out and giueth as it were an alarme to his fellowes, who euer one of them flee immediately into the next woods, and betake themselues to the trees. The shee apes carrie their whelpes vpon their shoulders, and will leape with them in that sort from one tree to another. Such of
them as are taught, will do woonderfull feates, but they are angrie and curst, notwithstanding they will soone be appeased.

Of the Conies of Africa.

There are great store of wilde Conies in Mauritania, and vpon the mountaines of Gumera; which albeit they are accounted wilde, yet in my opinion they seeme tame, for their flesh differeth neither in taste nor colou, from the flesh of tame conies.

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Of the strange fishes of Africa, and first of the fish called Ambara.

The fish called Ambara, being of a monstrous shape and bignes, is neuer seen but when it is cast vp dead vpon the sea-shore: and some of these fishes there are which containe twentie flue cubites in length. The head of this fish is as hard as a stone. The inhabitants of the Ocean sea coast affirme that this fish casteth forth Amber: but whether the said Amber be the sperm a or the excrement 4mber. therof, they cannot well determine. Howsoever it be, the fish may in regard of the hugenes be called a whale.

Of the sea-horse.

This creature is commonly found in the riuers of Niger and Nilus. In shape it resembleth an horse, and in stature an asse, but it is altogether destitute of haire. It liueth both in the water and vpon the lande, and swimmeth to the shore in the night season. Barkes and botes laden with wares and sayling downe the riuver of Niger are greatly endangered by this sea-horse, for oftentimes he ouerwhelmeth and sinketh them.

Of the sea-oxe.

The sea-oxe being couered with an exceeding hard skinne is shaped in all respects like vn. into the landoxe; saue that in bignes it exceedeth not a calfe of sixe moneths olde. It is found in both the riuers of Niger and of Nilus, and being taken by fishers, is kept a long time aliue out of the water. I my selfe sawe one at Cairo led up and downe by the neck in a chaine, which (they say) was taken at the city of Asna standing vpon the bank of Nilus, about foure hundred miles from Cairo.

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A medicine for the leorosie.

The craft oy the Crocodile in taking both men and beasts.

Of the Tortoise.

His might be numbred among the land-creatures, because it liueth for the most part in the deserts. In the Libyan deserts are found verie many as big as a tunne. And Bicri the Cosmographer in his booke of the regions and lourneis of Africa reporteth, that a certaine man being weary of trauellng, ascended to his thinking, vpon an high stone lying in the desert, to the end he might free himselfe from the danger of serpents and venemous beasts; who hauing slept soundly thereupon all night found himselfe in the morning remouued
three miles from the place where he first lay downe, and thereby understood that it was not a stone but a tortoise wheron he reposed himselfe, which lying still all the day long creepeth for foode in the nightseason, but so slowly, that her pace can hardly be perceiued. I my selfe haue seen some of these tortoises, as big as a barrell, but neuer any so huge as the last before mentioned. The flesh of a tortoise not aboue seuen yeres old being eaten seuen daies together is said to be a perfect medicine against the leprosie.

Of the Crocodile.

This cruell and noisome beast commonly frequenteth the riuers of Niger and Nilus, and containeth in length twelue cubites and aboue, the taile thereof being as long as the whole bodie besides, albeit there are but fewe of so huge a bignes. It goeth vpon fower feete like a Lizard, neither is it aboue a cubite and a halfe high. The taile of this beast is full of knots, and the skin thereof is so exceeding hard, that no crossebowe will enter it. Some praiue vpon fishes onely, but others vpon beasts and men. Which lurking about the bankes of the riuier, do craftily lay waite for men and beastes that come the same way, about whom suddenly winding their tailes, they draw them into the water, and there deuour them. Howbeit some of them are not so cruell by nature: for if they were, no inhabitants coulde liue neere vnto the riuers of Nilus and Niger. In eating they moue the vpper iawe onely, their neather iawe being joined vnto their breast-bone. Not many yeeres sithens, passing vp the riuier of Nilus towards the citie of Cana, standing in the vpper part of Egypt, fower hundred miles from Cairo, on a certaine night whilste wee were in the midst of our journey, the moone being ouershadowed with clouds, the marriners and passengers all fast a sleepe, and the barke vnder sailes, I my selfe studying by candle-light in my cabben, was called vpon by a deuout olde man in the barke, who bestowed the same night in watching and praier, and saide vnto me, call (I praiue you) some of your company, who may helpe me to draw vppe this peece of woode floting vpon the water, which will serue to morrow for the dressing of our dinner. My selfe sir (quoth I) will come and helpe you, rather then wake any of our company in the dead of the night. Nay (quoth the old man) I will trie whether I be able to drawe it vp alone or no. And so when the barke was neere vnto the woode, as he supposed, holding a rope in his hande to cast into the water, he was sodainly intangled with a crocodiles long taile, and was in a moment drawen vnder the water. Whereupon I making a shoute, all the people in the barke arose, and striking sailes wee staide for the space of an hower, diuers in the meane time leaping into the water to seeke the man, but altogither in vaine: and therefore all of them affirmed that he was caught by a crocodile. As we sailed farther we sawe great numbers of crocodiles vpon the bankes of Islands in the midst of Nilus lie beaking them in the sunne with their iawes wide open, whereinto certaine little birdses about the bignes of a thrush entring, came flying forth againe presently after. The occasion whereof was tolde me to be this: The crocodiles
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Little birds fy- by reason of their continuall deuouring of beasts and fishes, ing into the

crocodiles haue certaine peeces of flesh sticking fast betweene their mouth to picke

wormes from forked teeth, which flesh being putrified, breedeth a kind betweene their
teeth of wormes wherewith they are cruelly tormented. Wherefore the saide

birds flying about, and seeing the wormes, enter into the crocodiles iawes, to
satisfie their hunger therewith. But the crocodile perceiuing himselfe freed from

the wormes of his teeth, offereth to shut his mouth, and to deuour the little birde
that did him so good a turne, but being hindred from his vngratefull attempt by a
pricke which growth vnpon the birds head, he is constrained to open his iawes and
to let her depart. The shee crocodile laying egges vpon the shore, couereth them
with sand; and so soone as the yoong crocodiles are hatched, they crawle into the
riuer. Those crocodiles that forsake the riuer and haunt the desertes become
venemous; but such as continue in Nilus, are destitute of poison. In Egypt there
are many that eate of the flesh of the crocodile, and affirme it to be of an excellent
taste. His larde or grease is solde very deere at Cairo, and is saide to be very
medicinable for The manner ofolde and cankered woundes. They take the
crocodile in taking the
crocodile, manner following; The fishers binding a strong and large
rope vnto some tree or poste standing for the nonce vpon the banke of Nilus,
fasten vnto the end thereof an iron hooke of a cubite long, and about the thickness
of a mans finger, and vpon the hooke they hang a ramme or a goate, by the
bleating noise whereof the crocodile being allured, commeth forth of the water,
and swalloweth vp both the baite and the hooke, wherewithal feeling himselfe
inwardly wounded, he strugleth mightily, & beateth the ground, the fishers in the
meane time pulling and slacking the rope, till the crocodile falleth down
vanquished & dead: then they thrust him in with certaine darts and iauels vnder
the shoulders and flanks where his skin is most tender, and so make a quicke
dispatch of him. His backe is so harde

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and thicke, that an harquebuse or caliuer will scarce pierce it. Of these beasts I
sawe aboue three hundred heads placed vpon the wals of Cana, with their iawes
wide open, being of so monstrous and incredible a bignes, that they were
sufficient to haue swallowed vp a whole cowe at once, and their teeth were great
and sharpe. The Egyptian fishers vse to cut off the heads of crocodiles, and to set
them vpon the wals of their cities, and so doe hunters vse the heads of wilde
beasts.
Of the dragon.
N the caues of Atlas are founde many huge and
monstrous dragons, which are heauie, and of a slowe motion, because the midst of
their body is grosse, but their necks and tailes are slender. They are most
venemous creatures, insomuch that whosoeuer is bitten or touched by them, his
flesh presently waxeth soft & weake, neither can he by any means escape death.
Of the Hydra.
T His serpent being short in proportion of body, and
having a slender taile and necke, liueth in the Libyan deserts. The poison thereof
is most deadly, so that if a man be bitten by this beast, he hath none other
remedie, but to cut off the wounded part, before the poison disperseth it selfe into
the other members.
Of the creature called Dub.
T His creature liuung also in the deserts, resembleth in
shape a Lizzard, sauing that it is somewhat bigger, and containeth in length a
cubite, and in brethfower fingers. It drinketh no water at all, and if a man pour
any water into the mouth thereof, it presently dieth. It laieth egges in manner of a
tortoise, and is destitute of poison. The Arabians take it in the deserts: and I my
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selfe cut the throate of one which I tooke, but it bled a very little. Being flaied and
rosted, it tasteth somewhat like a frogge. In swiftnes it is comparable to a Lizzard,
and being hunted, if it chanceth to thrust the head into an hole, it can by no force
be drawne out, except the hole be digged wider by the hunters. Hauing beene
slaime three daies together, and then being put to the fire, it stirreth
it selfe as it were newelie dead.
Of the Guaral.
T His beast is like vnto the former, sauing that it is
somewhat bigger, and hath poison both in the head
and taile, which two parts being cut off, the Arabians will eate it, notwithstanding
it be of a deformed shape and vgly colour, in which respects I loathed alwaies to
eate the flesh
thereof
Of the Camelion.
T He camelion being of the shape and bignes of a lizzard,
is a deformed, crooked, and leane creature, hauing a
long and slender tayle like a mouse, and being of a slowe pace. It is nourished by
the element of ayer, and the sunbeames, at the rising wherof it gapeth, and turneth
it selfe vp and downe. It changeth the colour according to the varietie of places
where it commeth, being sometimes black and sometimes greene, as I my selfe
haue seen it. It is at great enmity with venemous serpents, for when it seeth any
How the came- lie sleeping vnder a tree, it presently climeth vp the same lion
killeth the
serpent. tree, and looking downe vpon the serpents head, it voideth
out of the mouth as it were, a long threede of spittle, with a round drop like a perle
hanging at the end, which drop falling wrong, the camelion changeth his place, till
it may light directly upon the serpents head, by the vertue wherof he presently
dyeth. Our African writers have reported many things concerning the properties
and secret qualities of this beast, which at this present I do not well remember.

HISTORIE OF AFRICA.
Of the Ostrich.
Somewhat we will here say concerning the strange birds
and fowles of Africa, and first of the ostrich, which in shape resembleth a goose,
but that the neck and legges are somewhat longer, so that some of them exceede
the length of two cubites. The body of this birde is large, and the wings thereof
are full of great feathers both white and black, which wings and feathers being
unfitte to fly withall, do helpe the ostriche, with the motion of her traine, to runne
a swifte pace. This fowle liueth in dry deserts, and layeth to the number of ten or
twelue egges in the sandes, which being about the bignes of great bullets, waigh
fifteene pounds a piece; but the ostrich is of so weake a memorie, that shee
presently forgetteth the place where her egges were laide. And afterward the
same, or some other ostriche-henne finding the said egges by chance, hatcheth
and fostereth them as if they were certainly her owne: the chickens are no sooner
crept out of the shell, but they prowle vp and downe the deserts for their foode:
and before their fethers be growne, they are so swift, that a man shall hardly
ouertake them. The ostriche is a silly and deafe creature, feeding vpon any thing
which it findeth, be it as hard and undigestible as yron. The flesh especially of
their legges, is of a slymie and strong tast; and yet the Numidians use it for foode,
for they take yong ostriches and set them vp a fatting. The ostriches wander vp
and downe the deserts in orderly troupes, so that a far off a man would take them
to bee so many horsemen, which illusion hath often dismaied whole carouans.
Being in Numidia I my selfe ate of the ostriches flesh, which seemed to haue not
altogether an vnssaury tast.

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Of the Eagle.
Of eagles there are diuers kindes, according to their naturall properties, the
proportion of their bodies, or the diuersitie of their colours: and the greatest kinde
of eagles are called in the Arabian toong Nesir. The Africans teach their eagles to
pray vpon foxes and woolues; which in their encounter seaze vpon the heads of
the saide beasts with their bils, and vpon the backes with their talents, to .4 stragc
auoide the danger of biting, But if the beast turne his narration.
belly vpwarde, the eagle will not forsake him, till she hath either peckt out his
eies, or slaine him. Many of our African writers affirme, that the male eagle
oftentimes ingendring with a shee woofe, begetteth a dragon, hauing the beake
and wings of a birde, a serpents taile, the feete of a wolfe, and a skin speckled
and partie coloured like the skin of a serpent. Neither can it open the eie-lids, and
it liueth in caues. This monster albeit my selfe haue not seene, yet the common report ouer all Africa affirmeth that there is such an one.

Of the foule called Nesir.
This is the greatest foule in all Africa, and exceedeth a crane in bignes, though the bill, necke, and legs are somewhat shorter. In flying this birde mounteth vp so high into the aire, that it cannot be discerned; but at the sight of a dead carkase it will immediately descend. This birde liueth a long time, and I my selfe haue seene many of them unfeathered by reason of extreme old age: wherefore hauing cast all their feathers, they returne vnto their nest, as if they were newly hatched, and are there nourished by the younger birds of the same kinde. The Italians call it by the name of a Vulture, but I thinke it to be of another kinde. They nestle vpon high rockes, and vpon the tops of wvilde and desert mountaines, especially vpon mount 956

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Atlas: and they are taken by such as are acquainted with those places.
Of the birde called Bezi, or the hauke.
This bird called in Latine Accipiter, is very common in Africa. But the best African haukes are white, being taken vpon certaine mountaines of the Numidian deserts, and with these haukes they pursue the crane. Of these haukes there are diuers kinds, some being vsed to flue at partriges and quailes, and others at the hare.
Of the Bat.
These vgly night-birdes are rife all the world ouer: but in certaine caues of Atlas there are many of them founde as bigge and bigger then doues, especially in their winges: which albeit my selfe neuer sawe, yet haue I heard of them by diuers persons.
Of the parrat orpoppiniay.
These parrots are commonly founde in the Mtoods of T Ethiopia: but the better sort of them, and such as will imitate mans voice more perfectly, are the greene ones. Parrots there are as big as a doue, of diuers colours, some red, some blacke, and some ash-coloured, which albeit they cannot so fitly expresse mans speech, yet haue they most sweete and shrill voices.
Of the locustes.
OF locustes there are sometimes seene such monstrous swarmes in Africa, that in flying they intercept the sunne-beames like a thicke cloude. They deuoure trees, leaues, fruites, and all greene things growing out of the earth. At their departure they leaue egges behinde them, whereof other yong locusts breede, which in the places where they are left, will eate and consume al things euuen to 957

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the very barke of trees, procuring thereby extreme dearth of corne, especially in Mauritania. Howbeit the inhabitants of Arabia deserta, and of Libya, esteeme the comming of these locusts as a fortunate boading: for seething or drying them in the sun, they bruise them to powder, and so eate them. And nowe let us thus much suffice to haue spoken of the African beasts, foules, fishes, serpents, &c. which are either not to be found in Europe, or such as differ from creatures of the same kinde there. Wherefore hauing once briefly intreated in the chapters following of certayne minerals, trees, and fruits of Africa, I purpose then to conclude this my present discourse.

Whereas mine author Iohn Leo intreateth but briefly of these locustes, which God vseth as a most sharp scourge between times to disciple all the nations of Africa; I thought it not vnmeet to addde two other relations or testimonies of the same argument: the one being reverend in regard of the authors antiquitie; and the other credible and to be accepted, for that the reporter himselfe was a most diligent and faithfull eie-witnes of the same.

HISTORIE OF AFRICA.
The first testimonie, taken out of the i. chap. of the fift booke of Paulus Orosius contra Paganos. Of an huge and pernicious companie of Locusts in Africa, which after they had wasted the countrey, being drowned in the sea, and cast vp dead on the shore, bred a most woonderfull pestilence both of man and beast.

N the consulship of Marcus Plautius Hypsus, and Marcus Fuluius Flaccus, Africa scarce breathing from bloudie warres, an horrible and extraordinarie destruction ensued. For whereas now throughout all Africa, infinite multitudes of locustes were gathered together, & had not only quite deouered the corne on the grounde, and consumed the herbes with part of their rootes, and the leaues and tender boughes of the trees, but had gnawne also the bitter barke and drie woode; being with a violent and sudden winde hoised aloft in mightie swarmes, and carried a long time in the aire, they were at length drowned in the African sea. Whose lothesome and putrified carcasses being by the waues of the sea cast vp in huge heapes farre and wide along the shore, bred an incredible stinking & infectuous smell: whereupon followed so general a pestilence of aliuing creatures, that the corrupt dead bodies of foules, cattell, and wilde beasts dissolued by the contagion of the aire, augmented the furie of the plague. But how great and extraordinarie a death of men there was, I cannot but tremble to report: for in Numidia, where Micipsa was then king, died fowerscore thousand persons; and vpon the sea-coast next adioining

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to Carthage and Vtica, about two hundred thousand are said to have perished. Yea in the city of Vtica itself were by this means swept from the face of the earth thirty thousand brave soldiers which were appointed to be the garrison for all Africa. And the destruction was so sudden and violent, as they report, that out of one gate of Vtica, in one and the same day, were carried about fifteen hundred dead corpses of those lusty young gallants. So that by the grace and favour of Almighty God (through whose mercy, and in confidence of whom, I do speak these things) I may boldly assert; that albeit sometime in our days the locusts in divers parts, and usually, do some damage which is tolerable: yet never befell there in the time of the Christians so insupportable a mischief, as that this scourge of locusts, which being alive are by no means sufferable, should after their death prove far more pernicious: and which also living, the fruits of the earth would have been quite devoured; it had been much better they had never died, to the plague and destruction of all earthly creatures. Hitherto Paulus Orosius.

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HISTORIE OF AFRICA.
The second testimonie taken out of the 32. and --, chapters of the Ethiopian historie of Francis Alvarez, which for the satisfaction of every Reader, I have put down with all particularities and circumstances.

Of the great multitude of Locusts, and the infinite damage that they procure in the dominions of, Prete Janni, Chap. 32.

In this quarter and throughout all the dominion of Prete Janni, there is an horrible and great plague, to wit an innumerable company of Locustes, which eat and consume the corne, and trees of fruit; and so great is the number of these creatures, as it is not credible, for with the multitude of them the earth is covered, and the air so overspread, as one may hardly discern the sun: and further I affirm, that it is a thing most strange to him who hath not seen it; and if the damage they perform were general through all the provinces and kingdoms of Prete fanni, his people would die with famine, neither could any possibly there inhabit: But one yeere they destroy one province, and the next yeere another province: as if for example, they waste the kingdom of Portugal or Castile this yeere, another yeere they are in the quarters of Lenteio, another in Estremadura, another in Beira, or between the river Dorus and Minius, another on the mountains, another in old Castilia, Aragon or Andaluzia, and otherwhiles in two or three of these provinces at once; and wheresoeuer they come, the earth is more wasted and destroyed by them, then

THE NINTH BOOKE OF THE if it had beene all over consumed with a fire. These locusts are as big as the greatest grashoppers, having yellow wings. Their coming into the country is knowne a day before: not for that we can see them, but we know it by the sunne,
who is yellow of colour, this being a signe that they draw neere to the countrie, as also the earth looketh yellowe, by reason of the light which reflecteth from their wings: whereupon the people in a manner become presentlie halfe dead, saying, we are vndone, for the Ambati, that is to say, the locustes are come. And I can not forbeare to set downe that which I sawe three sundrie times, and first in Barua, where we had now bee ne for the space of three yeeres, and heere we heard it saide often, that such a countrey and such a realme was destroied by the Locusts: and being in this prouince we sawe the sunne and the vpper part of the earth looke all yellow, the people being in a manner halfe dead for sorrow: But the day following it was an incredible thing to see the number of these creatures that came, which to our judgement couered fower and twentie miles of lande, as afterward we were enformed. When this scourge and plague was come, the priestes of that place came and sought me out, requesting me to giue them some remedie for the driuing of them away, and I answered, that I could tel them nothing, but only that they shoulde deuouly pray vnto God, that he woulde driue them out of the countrie. And so I went to the Ambassadour, and told him, that it would be very go od to goe on procession, beseeching God that hee woulde deliuer the countrie, who peraduenture in his great mercie might heare vs. This liked the Ambassadour very well: and the day following we gathered togither the people of the land, with all the priests, and taking the consecrated stone, and the crosse, according to their custome, all we Portugals sung the Letanie, and appointed those of the land, that they should lift up their voices aloud as we did,

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saying in their language Zio marina Christos, which is as much to say, as Lord God haue mercy vpon vs: and with this manner of inuocation we went ouer a peece of grounde, where there were fieldes of wheate, for the space of a mile, euen to a little hill: and heere I caused many of these A strange exorcisme, locustes to be taken, pronouncing ouer them a certaine coniuration, which I had about me in writing, hauing made it that -night, requesting, admonishing, and excommunicating them, enioining them within the space of three hower s to depart towards the sea, or the lande of the Moores, or the desert mountaines, and to let the Christians alone: and they not performing this, I summoned and charged the birdes of heavuen, the beasts of the earth, and all sorts of tempests, to scatter, destroy, and eate vp their bodies: and to this effect I took a quantitie of locusts, making this admonition to them present, in the behalfe likewise of them absent, and so giuing them libertie, I suffered them to depart. It pleased God to heare vs sinners, for in our returne home, they came so thicke vpon our backes, as it seemed that they woulde haue broken our heads, or shoulders, so hard they strooke against vs, as if we had beene beaten with stones and cudgels, and in this sort they went towards the sea: The men, women, and children remaining at home, were gotten vpon the tops, or tarrasses of their houses, giuing God thankes that the locusts were going away, some afore, and others followed. In the meane while towards the sea, there arose a great cloude with thunder, which met them full in the teeth, and continued for the space of three howers with much raine, and
tempest, that filled all the riuers, and when the raine ceased, it was a fearefull thing to behold the dead Locustes, which were more then two * yardes in height vpon the * Orfathomes. bankes of the riuers, and in some riuers there were mightie heapes of them, so that the morning following there was not one of them found alive vpon the earth.  

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people of the places adioining hearing this, came in great numbers to enquire how this matter was effected; many of the inhabitants said, these Portugals be holy men, and by the power of their God, they haue killed and driuen away the locusts: others saide, especially the priests and friers of those places neere about, that we were witches, and by power of enchantments had driuen away the saide creatures, and that for this cause we feared neither lions, nor any other wilde beast: Three daies after this effect, there came vnto vs a Xuum, that is, a capitaine of a place called Coiberia, with men, priests, and friers, to request vs, that we woulde for the loue of God helpe them, saying that they were in a manner destroied by the locustes; and that place was a daies iourney off towards the sea. They came to vs about euening, and at the same instant, I and fower other Portugals departed awaie with them, we went all night, and came thither an hower within daie, where we found, that all those of the countrey, with many of the other places adioining were assembled together, for they were also molested by the locusts. And assoone as we were come, we went our procession rounde about the land, which was seated vpon an high hill, from whence we might discerne manie countries and places all yellow by reason of the multitude of locusts. Such inuocations and ceremonies being ended, as we performed in the other place, we went to dinner, & the men that were borderers, requested vs to goe with them, promising vs great rewardes: It pleased God, that as soon as we had dined, we saw all the earth so cleared that there was not soe much as one locust to be scene: The people seeing this and not being satisfied with the fauour and grace receiued, they requested vs to goe and blesse their possessions, for they were yet afraid least the locusts would returne; and so wee departed.

HISTORIE OF AFRICA.

Of the dommage we sawe done in another prouince by the Locustes, in two sundrie places.

Chap. 33.

A N other time also we sawe the Locustes, being in a towne called Abuguna: Prete Ianni sent vs to this towne which is in the kingdome of Angote, and distant from Barua, where we continued, thirtie daies iourney, to the ende that there we might be furnished with victuals: Being come thither, I went with the Ambassadour Zagazabo, who came into Portugal], and flue Genoueses, towards a certain towne & a moiitaine called Aguoan, & we trauailed flue daies through places all desert & destroied, which places were sowen with Maiz, hauing stalkes as great as those props which we vse about our vines, and we
might see them all broken and troden vnderfoote, as if there had beene a tempest, and this had the locusts done. Their wheate, barley, and Taffo da guza were so eaten, as it seemed they neuer had beene either tilled or sowne. The trees were without leaues, and their barkes all gnawne & eaten, and there was not so much as a spire of grasse, for they had deuoured every thing; and if we had not beene advised, and foreseen the same (for when we departed, we laded our mules with victuals) we and our beastes had died togither for hunger. The countrey was couered all ouer with winglesse locustes ; and they saide, that those were the seede of them, which had deuoured all, and that when they had gotten wings, they would go seeke out the rest, the number of these was so great, as I am loath to report, because I shoulde not perhaps be credited : but this I may well affirme, that I sawe men, women, and children, sit as it were amazed amongst these locusts, and I saide vnto them, why sit you thus halfe dead, and doe not kill these creatures, and so reuenge your selues of the wrong, that their fathers and mothers haue done you, or at least that

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those which you kill may be able to doe you no more harme ? They answered, that they had not the hart, to withstand the scourge of God which hee had sent vpon them for their sins: And all the people of this place departed hence, so that we found the waies full of men and women on foot, with their children in their armes, and vpon their heads, going into other countries, where they might finde victuall, and it was great pittie to behold them. We being in the saide prouince of Abuguna, in a place called Aquate, there came such swarmes of locustes as were innumerable: which one day began to fall vpon the grounde about nine of the clocke in the morning, and ceased not while night; where they lighted, there they staide, and then the next day in the morning went away: so that at three of the clocke in the afternoone there was not one of them to be seene, and in this short time they left the trees vtterly destitute of leaues. On the same day and hower there came an other squadron, and these left neither tree nor bough vngnawen and eaten, and thus did they for flue days one after another: they said that those were yong ones which went to seeke their fathers, and they did the like, as those we sawe without wings: the space that these locustes tooke vp, was nine miles, for which circuit there remained neither barke nor leaues vpon the trees, & the countrie looked not as though it had bin burnt, but as though it had snowed thereupon, and this was by reason of the whitenes of the trees which were pilled bare by the Locustes, and the earth was all swept cleane: It was Gods will that the haruest was alreadie in: wee coulde not vnderstande which way they afterwards went, bicause they came from the sea warde, out of the kingdorne of Daucali, which belongeth to the Moores, who are continually in warre, as also we coulde by no meanes knowe the ende of their iourney or course. Thus much out of Francis Aluarez.

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HISTORIE OF AFRICA.
Of the minerals: And first of minerall salt.

The greater part of Africa hath none other salt but such as is digged out of quarries & mines, after the maner of marble or free stone, being of a white, red, and graie colour. Barbarie aboundeth with salt, and Numidia is indifferently furnishea therewith : but the lande of Negros, and especially the inner part of Ethiopia, is so destitute thereof, that a pound of salt is there solde for halfe a ducate. And the people of the saide regions vse not to set salt vpon their tables; but holding a crum of salte in hands, they licke the same at euery morsell of meate which they put in their mouthes. In certaine lakes of Barbarie all the somtner time there is faire and white salt congealed or kerned, as namely in diuers places neere vnto the citie of Fez.

Of the minerall called Antimonie.

This minerall growing in many places of Africa in the lead-mines is separated from the lead by the helpe of brimstone. Great plenitie of this minerall is digged out of the bottome of mount Atlas, especially where Numidia bordereth vpon the kingdome of Fez. Brimstone likewise is digged in great abundance out of other places of Africa.

Of Euphorbiuv.

Vphorbium is the iuice or gumme of a certaine herbe growing like the head of a wilde thistle, betweene the branches wherof grow certain fruits as big in compasse as a greene cucumber: after which shape or likenes it beareth certain little graines or seedes ; and some of the said fruits are an elle long, and some are longer. They grow not out of the branches of the herbe but spring out of the firme ground, and out of one flag you shall see sometimes 2o. and sometimes 30. of them issue foorth. The people of the same region, when the said fruits are once ripe, do prick them with their kniues, and out of the holes proceedeth a liquor or iuice much like vnto milke, which by little and little, groweth thick and slimy. And so being grown thick, they take it off with their kniues, putting it in bladders & drying it. And the plant or herb it selfe is full of sharp prickles.

Of Pitcl.

Of pitch there are two kindes, the one being naturall, and taken out of certaine stones, which are in fountaines ; the water wherof retaineth the vnsauorie smell and tast of the same ; and the other being artificial, and proceeding out of the iuniper or pine-tree: and this artificiall pitch I saw made vpon mount Atlas in manner following. They make a deepe and round furnace with an hole in the bottome, through which hole the pitch may fall downe into an hollow place within the ground being made in form of a little vessel: and putting into the said furnace the boughes of the foresaid trees broken into small pieces, they close vp the mouth of the furnace, and make a fire vnder it, by the heate wherof the pitch distillete forth of the wood through the bottome of the furnace into the foresaide hollow place: and so it is taken vp and put in bladders or bagges.
Of the fruite called Maus or 1k/usa.
This fruite growing upon a smal tree which beareth
large and broade leaues of a cubite long, hath a most excellent and delicate taste,
and springeth forth about the bignes of a small cucumber. The Mahumetan
doctours affirm, that this was the fruite which God forbad our first parents to eat
in Paradise, when which they had eaten they couered their nakednes with leaues
of the same fruit, as being of all other leaues most meete for that purpose.

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They grew in great abundance at Sela a towne of the kingdome of Fez; but in
farre greater plenty in the land of Egypt, and especially at Damiata.

Of Cassia.
The trees bearing Cassia are of great thicknes, hauing
leaues like unto the mulberie-tree. They bear a broad and white blossome, and are
so laden with fruits, that they are constrained to gather great store before they be
ripe, least the tree should breake with ouermuch waight. And this kinde of tree
groweth onely in Egypt.

Of the fruit called Terfez.
Terfez is to be called rather by the name of a root then
of a fruit, and is like vnto a mushrom or toad-stoole, but that it is somewhat
bigger. It is enclosed with a white rinde and groweth in hot and sandy places.
Where it lyeth, it may easilie be perceived by the swelling and opening of the
ground. Some of them are as bigge as a walnut, and others as a limon. The
phisicians, which call it Camha, affirme it to be a refrigeratiue or cooling fruit. It
groweth in great plentie vpon the Numidian deserts, and the Arabians take as
great delight in eating of the same as in eating of sugar. This fruit being stued
vpon the coles, and afterward made cleane, and sodden in fat broath they esteeme
for great dainties. Also the Arabians seeth it in water and milk, and so eat it.
It groweth likewise plentifullie in the sandes neare vnto the towne of Sela. Of the
date or palme-tree, because we haue sufficiently spoken in our description of
Segelmesse in Numidia, we will here in this place say nothing at all.

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Of the Egyptian figg called by the Egyptians themselues Giumeiz.
The tree of this figg resembleth other fig-trees both in
outward forme and in leaues, but it is of an exceeding height: neither doth the fruit
grow among the leaues, or vpon the ends of the twigs, but out of the very body of
the tree, where no leaues at all grow. These figs tast like vnto other figes, but they
haue a thicker skin and are of a tawnie colour.

Of the tree called Ettalche.
This is an high and a thornie tree, hauing such leaues as
the iuniper hath, and bearing a gum like vnto mastick, wherwith the African
apothecaries vse to mingle and adulterate their mastick, because it hath the same
colour and yealdeth some smell also. There are found likewise such trees in the Numidian and Lybian deserts and in the land of Negros: but the trees of Numidia being cut in the midst, consist of white wood like unto the trees before named, and the Lybian trees of a brownie or tawnie wood, but the trees of the land of Negros are extreame black within. And that black pith or hart of this tree, wherof musical instruments are made, is called by the Italians Sangu. That wood which is of the browne or tawnie colour is vsed by the African phisicians for the curing of the French poxe, whereupon it is commonly called by the name of pock-wood.

Of the root called Tauzarghente.

His root growing in the westerne part of Africa vpon the Ocean sea shore, yeeldeth a fragrant and odoriferous smel. And the merchants of Mauritania carry the same into the land of Negros, where the people use it for a most excellent perfume, and yet they neither burne it nor put any fire at all thereto: for being kept onely in an house, it yeeldeth a naturall sent of it selfe. In Mauritania they sell a bunche of these rootes for halfe a ducate, which being carried to the land of Negros is sold again for eightie or one hundred ducates and sometimes for more.

Of the roote called Addad.

The herbe thereof is bitter, and the roote it selfe is so venemous, that one drop of the water distilled therout, will kill a man within the space of an hower, which is commonly knowen even to the women of Africa. Of the root called SurnagT His roote growing also vpon the westerne part of mount Atlas, is said to be verie comfortable and preservative vnto the priuie parts of man, & being drunk in an electuarie, to stir vp venereal lust, &c. Neither must I here omit that which the inhabitants of mount Atlas do commonly report, that many of those damosels which keepe cattel vpon the said mountaines haue lost their virginity by none other occasion, but by making water vpon the said roote: vnto whom I would in merriment answere, that I beleued all which experience had taught concerning the secret vertue of the same roote. Yea they affirmed moreouer, that some of their maidens were so infected with this roote, that they were not only deflowred of their virginitie, but had also their whole bodies puffed vp and swolne.

Hese are the things memorabile and woorthie of knowledge, seene and obserued by me John Leo, throughout al Africa, which countrey I haue in all places traueiled: wherein whatsoeuer I sawe woorthy the Numidia, Libya, the obseruation, I presently committed to writing: and those lande of Negros, and things which I sawe not, I procured to be at large declared Egypt.

HISTORIE OF AFRICA.

3Q2

971

HISTORIE OF AFRICA.

972
unto me by most credible and substantiall persons, which were themselves eie-
 witnesses of the same: and so having gotten a fitte opportunitie, I thought good to
 reduce these my trauels and studies into this one volume.

Written at Rome in the yeere of Christ 1526. and vpon the tenth of March.
Heere endeth the description of Africa written by John Leo, borne in Granada,
and brought vp in Barbarie.

A briefe relation concerning the
dominions, reuenues, forces, and maner of gouernment of sundry the greatest
princes either inhabiting within the bounds of Africa, or
at least Possessing some parts thereof,
translated, for the most part, out of Italian.

And haunted parte in the world, chiefly by reason of the situation thereof vnder
the torride Zone; which the ancients thought to be vnhabitabe. Whose opinion,
although in verie deede it is not true, because we knowe that betweene the two
Tropickes there are most fruiteful countries, as namely Abassia, and the
kingdomes of Angola, & Congo, with all India, new Spaine, and Brasile; yet
neither is it altogether false: For no part of the world hath greater deserts, nor
vaster wildernes, then this of Africa. These deserts, which extend themselves from
the Atlanticke Ocean euén vnto the borders of Egypt, for more then a thousand
miles, and runne out sometimes two hundred, and otherwhiles 300. miles in
breidth, diuide Africke into two parts: whereof the southerly part was never
throughly knowne to the people of Europe, as also Atlas, which diuideth Numidia
from Africa the lesse, is some impediment to the same: And towards the east it
seemeth that nature also ment to conceale the same, by those deserts that lye
bewixt the Red sea and the lande of Egypt. In the first times after the floud we
finde mention

THE GREAT PRINCES OF AFRICA.

very often made of the kingdomes of Egypt, and Ethiopia: and as for Ethiopia the
notice we had thereof, was but obscure and confused: But Egypt, by reason of the
commodious situation thereof betweene the Meditteran, and the Red seas, hath
alwaies bee beene renowned and famous: yea king Sesostris that Egyptian monarch
enlarged his empire from the Atlantick Ocean, euén to the Euxine sea: Afterwards
the kings of Numidia, & Mauritania, & the Carthaginians flourished in those
prouinces which are bounded by the Meditternan sea. In our times, wherein all
Africke hath beeene and is daily environed, there is sufficient knowledge had of
the Marine parts thereof, but for the inland prouinces there is not so much knowne
as might be, rather through want of writers then for default of discouerie & trade.
Now thence leaving those parts of Africa which are possessed by the Turke and
the king of Spaine, to a briefe narration in the last place, we haue reduced al the
residue of our relations to three princes: that is, to Prete lanni, the Monomotopa,
and the Xeriffo, who is king of Maroco and Fez: for the rest referring you to John
Leo, and the discourse prefixed before him: the Xeriffo raigneth between Atlas
and the Atlanticke Ocean; Prete fanni about the center of Africke: and the
Monomotapa hath his Empire towards the Sinus Barbaricus, or the Barbarian
gulph.
The Empire of Prete fanni.
The Empire of Prete fanni answereth not certainly in
effect, (although it be very large) vnto the fame and opinion which the common
sort, and most writers haue of it: For lateliest of any other Horatio Malugucci in a
certaine discourse of his, touching the greatnes of states at this day, would needes
haue his dominion to be greater then any other princes, but the king of Spaine. I
confesse indeede, that in times past his state had most ample and

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large confines, as may be judged by the multitude of kingdomes, with which he
adorneth and setteth foorth his stile; for he entitleth himselfe king of Goiame, a
kingdome seated beyond Nilus, and of Vangue, and Damut situate beyond Zaire:
and yet it is at this day evidently knowne, that his Empire scarcely reacheth vnto
Nile: yea and John Barros writeth, that the Abassins haue little notice of that
riuer, by reason of the mountaines lying betweene them and it. The hart or center
of his state, is the lake Barcena: for on the east it extendeth from Suaquen, as farre
as the entrance of the Red sea, for the space of an hundred and two and twentie
leagues: howbeit betwixt the Red sea and it, there thwarteth a long ranke of
mountaines, inhabited by the Moores, who also commaund the sea-coast. On the
west it hath another ridge of mountaines along the channell of Nilus, inhabited by
the Gentiles, who pay tribute vnto the Prete. On the north it confineth with an
imaginarie line drawne from Suaquen to the furthest part of the isle of Meroe,
which is an hundred and flue and twentie leagues long: From hence it maketh as it
were a bow, but not very crooked, towards the south, euuen to the kingdome of
Adel, (from the mountaines whereof springeth that riuer which Ptolomey calleth
Raptus, and placeth to the south of Melinde) for the space of two hundred and
thirtie leagues ; all which distance is bordered vpon by the Gentiles: from whence
it turndeth and endeth eastward at the kingdome of Adel, whose head citie is Arar,
in the northerly latitude of nine degrees : So that this whole empire, little more or
lesse, amounteth to sixe hundred threescore and twelue leagues in circuite: The
countrie (which is distinguished with ample plaines, pleasant hils, and high
mountaines, most of them manurable, and well inhabited) bringeth foorth barley
and myll (for it aboundeth not greatly with other sorts of graine) and likewise
Taffo da guza, another good and durable seed: But

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there is mill, and Zaburro (which we call the graine of India, or Ginnie wheate)
great plenty, with al sorts of our pulse, and some also vnknowen to vs. Some of
them weare clothes of cotton: but the greater part are clad in sheeps skinnes, and
those which are more honourable, in the skins of Lyons, Tigres, and Ounces.
They haue all kindes of our domesticall creatures, as hennes, geese, and such like,
as also abundance of kine, and wild swine, harts, goats, hares, but no conies,
besides panthers, lyons, Ounces, and elephants. To conclude, there cannot be a
countrie more apt then this, for the generation and increase of all plants and
creatures. True it is, that it hath little helpe or furtherance by the industrie of the
inhabitants, because they are of a sloathfull dul nature, and capacitie. They haue
flaxe, and yet make no cloath, sugar canes, and know not the arte of getting the
sugar thereout ; yron, and haue no vse thereof, but to take all smithes to be
negromancers: They haue riuers, and waters, and know not how to better their
possessions by them. They conceaue not greatly of hunting or fishing: whereupon
the fieldes are full of birdes and wild beastes, and the riuers and lakes, of fish. An
other reason of their slacknes and negligence, is the euill intreatie of the
communalie by those of the mightier sort: for the poore seeing euery thing taken
from them that they haue, sow no more, then verie necessity vrgeth them vnto.
Their speech also is without any rule or prescription, and to write a letter,
requireth a great assembly of men, and many dayes to deliberate thereon. The
nobles, cittizens, and peasants Hue distinctly and apart, and any of these may
purchase nobility by some famous, or worthie act. The first borne inherit all
things.
There is not in all the countrie a castel, or fortified place, for they thinke as the
Spartanes did, that a country should be mayntained and defended by force of
armes, and not with rampires of earth or stone. They dwell for the most

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part dispersed in townes and villages. Their trade of marchandise is performed by
exchanging one thing for another, supplying the ouerplus of their prises with
wheat or salt: pepper, incense, myrrhe, & salt, they sell for the waight in gold. In
their bargaines they vse gold also, but by waight, siluer is not ordinary among
them. Their greatest city is the Princes court, which is neuer firme and resident
in one place, but remoueth here & there, and remaineth in the open fieldes vnder
tentes. This courte comprehendeteth ten, or more miles in compasse.
His gouernment.
P Rete Janni his gouernment is very absolute, for he
holdeth his subiects in most base seruitude, and no lesse the noble and great, then
those of meaner qualitie and condition, intreating them rather like slaues, then
subiects: and the better to doe this, he mainainteth him selfe amongst them in the
reputation of a sacred and diuine person. Al men bow at the name of the Prince,
and touch the earth with their hand: they reuerence the tent wherein he lyeth, and
that when he is absent also. The Pretes in times past were wonte to be seene of the
people but onely once in three yeeres space, and afterwarde they shewed
themselves thrice in a yeere, that is on Christmas, and Easter daye, as also on holy
Rood day in September. Panusius who now raigneth, albeit he is growen more
familiar then his predecessors, yet when any commission commeth from him, the
partie to whom it is directed heareth the wordes thereof naked, from the girdle
vpward, neither putteth he on his apparrell, but when the king permiteth him. The
people though they bind it with an oath, yet do they seldome speake truth, but
when they sweare by the kinges life, who giueth and taketh away, what great
signorie it pleaseth him, neither may he, from whom it is taken, so much as shew him selfe agreed therewith. Except the

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giving of holy orders and the administration of the sacraments, he disposeth as well of the religious as of the laye sort, and of their goodes.

On the way he rideth, environed with high and long red curtaynes, which compasse him on every side. He weareth vsually vpon his head, a crowne halfe gold, halfe siluer, and a crosse of siluer in his hand: his face is couered with a piece of blew taffata, which he lifteth vp, or letteth downe, more or lesse, according as he fauoreth them that he treateth withall : and sometimes he only sheweth the end of his foot, which he putteth forth from under the said curtaines.

They that carrie and returne ambassages, come not to his curtaine, but with long time, divers ceremonies, and sundry obseruations. None hath slaues but himselfe, to whom every yeere his subjectes come to do homage. This prince (as the Abassins report) descendeth from a soone of Salomon, & the Queen of Saba, called Meilech: they receiued the faith vnder Queene Candaces, in whose time the familie of Gaspar began to raigne and flourish in Ethiopia, and from him after thirteene generations came John called the holie. This man about the time of Constantinus the Emperor, because he had no children, leaving the kingdome to his brother Caius eldest sonne, he invested Baltasar, and Melchior, younger brothers, one in the kingdome of Fatigar, and the other in Giomedi: whereupon the royall blood grew to be deuided into three families, namely that of Baltasar, that of Gaspar, and the third Melchior, ordaining that the Empire aboue all others should be giuen by election to some of the foresaid families, soe it were not to the eldest borne. For these first borne there were particular kingdomes appointed. And to auoide scandale aud tumult, hee decreed that the Emperours *Of this moun- brothers with his neerest kindred should be enclosed as in taine read in

the discourse a strong castell, within * mount Amara; where he would before the beginning.of Leo. also haue the Emperours sonnes to be put, who cannot

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succeed in the Empire, nor haue any state at all, for which cause the Emperour ordinarily marrieth not at all.

His forces both in reuenues and people.

HE hath two kindes of reuenues, for one consisteth in the fruits of his possessions, which he causeth to be manured by his slaues, and oxen. These slaues multiply continuallie, for they marrie among themselues and their sonnes remaine in the condition of their progenitors. An other great reuene cometh of his tributes, which are brought vnto him, from all those that hold dominion vnder him. And of these, some giue horses, some oxen, some gold,
some cotton, and others other things. It is thought he hath great treasure as well
of cloaths and jewel, as of gold, and also that he hath treasuries and large
magazines of the same riches, so that writing once to the king of Portugal, he
offered to give for the maintenance of war against the Infidels, an hundred
thousand drams of gold, with infinite store of men and victual. They say, that he
putte ordinarilie euery yeere into the castel of Amara the value of three millions
ducates. It is true, that before the dayes of King Alexander they layde not vp
so much golde, because they knew not how to purifie it: but rather jewel and
wedges of gold. Also his commings-in may be said to bee of three sorts: for some
he raiseth as it were, out of his crowne-landes: another part he leuie th of the
people, that pay him so much for an house, and the tenth of all those mines that
are digged by others then by himselfe: and a third revenue he draweth from his
tributarie princes and gouernours: and these give him the entire revenues of one of
their cities, so as he choose not that city wherein they make their residence. But
though his wealth and revenues be great, yet are his people of little worth, as well
because he holdeth them in the estimation of slaves, by meanes whereof they want
that generositie

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of minde, which maketh men ready to take vp armes, & to be couragious in
dagers: as also it seemeth they haue euery their handes bound with that awefull
reuerence which they beare towards their Prince, and the feare they haue of him:
and further, in that they haue no armes of defence but bad headpeeces, halfe
sculles, and coats of maile, carried thither by the Portugals. Hereunto may be
added his want of fortresses: for neither hauing strong places whither to retire, nor
armes to defend themselues; they and their townes remaine as a prey to the
enemie; their offensive armes being unfeathered arrows, and some darts. They
haue a lent of fiftie daies continuance, which through the great abstinance,
wherein they passe all that time, doth so weaken and afflict them, that neither for
those daies, nor many other following, they haue the strength to stirre abroad:
whereupon the Moores attend this opportunitie, and assaile them with great
advantage. Francis Aluares writeth, that Prete fanni can bring into the field an
hundred thousand men: neuerthelesse in time of neede it hath beeene scene, that
he could make nothing so many. He hath a militarie religion, or order of
knighthood, vnder the protection of Saint Anthonie, whereunto euery noble man
must ordaine one of euery three male children, but not the eldest. And out of these
are constituted twelue thousand knights or gentlemen for the kings guarde. The
ende of this order is, to defend the confines of the empire, and to make head
against the enimies of the faith.

Princes confining vpon the Prete Ianni.
T His Prince, as farre as we can certainly vnderstand,
confiniteth especially with three other mightie princes: one is the king of Borno;
another the great Turke; and the third the king of Adel. The king of Borno ruleth
ouer that countrey which extendeth from Guangara towards the east, about flue
hundred miles, betweene, the deserts of Seu,
THE GREAT PRINCES OF AFRICA.
and Barca, being of an vneeuen situation, bicause it is partly mountainous, and partly plaine. In the plaines there dwelleth a very ciuill people in populous and much frequented villages, by reason of the abundance of graine, as also there is some concourse of merchants thither. On the mountaines, shepheardes of great and smal beasts do inhabite, and their chiefe sustenance is mill: They lead a brutish life, without religion, with their wiues and children in common: They vse no other proper names, but those which are taken from the qualitie or forme of mens persons: the lame, the squint eied, the long, the stuttering. This king of Borno is most mightie in men, vpon whom he laieth no other imposition but the tenth of their fruits ; their profession is to robbe and steale from their neighbours, and to make them slaues: in exchange of whom, they have of the merchants of Barbarie, horses. He hath vnder him many kingdomes, and people, partly white, and partly blacke. He molesteth the Abassines exceedingly with thef tes, leadeth away their cattell, robbeth their mines, & maketh their men slaues. They fight on horse-backe after the Gynnet fashion, they vse lances with two heads, & darts & arrows : they assaile a countrey sometimes in one part, and otherwhiles in another, suddenly: but these may rather be termed theuues and robbers then right enemies.
The Turke confineth with Abassia on the east ; as likewise the king of Adel, who hem meth it in betweene the east and the south. They disturbe the Prete exceedingly, restraining the limites of his Empire, and bringing his countrey into great miserie: For the Turkes besides the putting of a great part of Barnagasso to sacke and spoile ; (vpon which they entred the yeere of our Lord, I 558.) although they were driuen out againe, haue further taken all that from the Prete which he possessed on the sea coast: especiallie the portes and townes of Suaquen and Ercoco : In which two places, the mountaines lying betwixt Abassia

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and the red sea, doe open, and make a passage, for conueiance of victual, and trafficke, betweene the Abassins, and the Arabians: And it is not long, since the Lord Barnagasso was constrained to accord with the Turke, and to buie the peace of his countrie with the tribute of a thousand ounces of gold by the yeere. Also the king of Add procureth hym no lesse molestation: This man confineth with the kingdome of Fatigar, and extendeth his dominion even to the Red sea, where he hath Assum, Salir, Meth, Barbora, Pidar, and Zeila. At Barbora manie shippes of Aden and Cambaia arriuc with their marchandize for exchange; from whence they receiue much flesh, honie, wax, and victuals for Aden ; and gold, Iuorie, and other things for Cambaia. A greater quantitie of victuall is carried from Zeila, because there is aboundance of waxe, and honie, with corne and diuers fruities, which are laden for Aden, and for Arabia, and beastes also, as namely sheepe, with tayles wayghing more then flue and twentie poundes, with their heads and necks all blacke, but the rest of them is white: as also certaine other all white with tayles a
fathome long, and writthen like a vine branche, hauing thropples vnder their
throtes like bulles. There be also certayne kine with branched hornes like to wild
hartes, being blakke in colour and some others red, with one onely horne vpon
their foreheads of an handfull and an halfe long, turning backward. The chiefe
city of this kingdome is Arar eight and thirtie leagues from Zeila towards the
South east. This king being a Mahumetan by a perpetuall profession of making
war against the christians of Abassia, who are the subiects of the Prete, hath
obteined of those Barbarians the surname of Holy: He stayeth his oportunitie
while the Abassins be weakened, and brought downe with that long and hard fast
of fiftie daies, when they can scarcel3" go about their domesticall affaires ; and
then he entreth into the countrey, sacketh the townes, leadeth the people away into
seruitude,

THE GREAT PRINCES OF APRICA.
and doth a thousand injuries vnto them. The Abassin slaues are of great valew out
of their owne countrey: whereupon the bordering, and other Princes both farre and
neere esteeme them much, and many of them by meanes of their industrie in
seruice, of slaues haue become captaines and great Commanders, in Arabia,
Cambaia, Bengala, and Sumatra: Bicause the Mahumetan princes of the east,
being all tirants ouer kingdomes usurped from the Gentiles, for securitie of their
state, put no trust in their owne subjects : but arme themselues with a multitude of
strange slaues, to whom they commit their persons, and the gouernment of their
kingdome. And among all other slaues the Abassines beare away the bell, aswell
for fidelitie, as for sound and good complexion. And bicause the king of Adel,
with the multitude of these Abassin slaues, which he taketh in the townes and
territories of Prete Janni, filleth all Egypt, and Arabia (in exchange of whom he
hath armour, munition, and soldiers, both from the Turke, and the Arabian
Princes) in the yeere of our Lord 1550. Claudius king of Abassia, being after this
sort sorely oppressed by Gradaamed king of Adel, who now for the space of
fowerteene yeeres had with continuall incursions greeuously molest, and
disturbed him, enforcing him to leaue his confines, and to retire into the hart of
his empire, demaunded aide of Step hano Gama, the Indian Viceroy of Iohn the
third king of Portugale, who was then with a good fleete vpon the red sea.
Whereupon he sent him fower hundred Portugals, with a good quantitie of armes,
and small shot, vnder the government of Christopher da Gama his brother. With
these men by the benefit of shot, he ouerthrew the enimie in two battailes ; but in
the third, the king of Adel hauing receiued a thousand Turkish harquebuziers from
the gouernour of Zebit, with ten pceces of artillerie, the Abassins were put to
flight, and discomfited, and their captaine taken prisoner, and put to death. But the
king

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of Adel afterwards sending backe the said Turkes, he and his people were 
soudainly assailed, neere the riuer of Zeila, and mount Sausal, by king Claudius 
with threescore 
thousand foote, and flue hundred Abassin horse, togetter with those Portugales, 
who remained of the former ouerthrow, one of whom wounded Gradamed 
dangerously. But in the moneth of March, the yeere of our Lord 1559. king 
Claudius being set vpon againe by the Malacai Mores, he was slaine in the 
battaile: and the enimie-king acknowledging so great a victorie from the handes of 
God, triumphed vpon an asse. 
Adamas brother vnto king Claudius succeeded him, against whom (for he was 
halfe a Mahumetan) the best part of the Abassine nobilitie rebelled, and he was 
defeated by the Barnagasso in the yeere 1562. who hauing thus for a while 
disturbed the affaires of Ethiopia, it seemed that they were at length asswaged, & 
reestablished vnder Alexander, by the aide of the Portugals, who haue carried 
thither armes as well of offence, as defence, and stirred vp the mindes and 
courages of the Abassines, by their example, to warre: For all those that remained 
of the discomfiture giuen to Christopher Gama, and diuers others which came 
thither afterwards, and do daily there arriue and staie, do marrie wiues, and haue 
children ; and Alexander permitted them to elect a judge, who might execute 
justice among them : so that they haue, and do daily bring into Abassia, the 
manner of warfare in Europe, with our use of armes, and the manner of fortifying 
passages and places of importance. Afterwards certaine Florentines went into 
those countries, partly vpon pleasure, and partly for affaires of merchandize. For 
Francesco di Medici great Duke of Florence, had some commerce with the 
Abassines. The Prete therefore giues entertainment, and maketh much of the 
Frankes, (for so do they call the people of Europe) and hardly giueth them license 
to depart out of his kingdome.

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Besides these the Prete lani hath diuers other enimies, amongst whom is the king 
of Dancali, to whom the towne and port of Vela vpon the red sea pertaineth; he 
confined with Balgada. The Moores also vexe him greatly, which inhabite the 
prouince, called Dobas, deuided into fowerteene Signiories; for though they be 
within the confines of Prete anni his empire, yet notwithstanding for the most part 
they rebell from him : they haue a lawe, that none of them may marrie, before he 
first giue testimoniall that he hath slaine twelue Christians.
Of the Emperour of Monomotapa.
Concerning the state of this mightie Emperour, and of 
his neighbour of Mohenemugi, and of the limits of both their dominions, as 
likewise of the Amazones and Giacchi the chiefe strength of their militarie forces, 
and other memorable matters; to aoide tedious repetitions, I referre the reader to 
the discourse going before the booke: saue onely that I will heere annexe a briefe 
testimony out of Osorius lib 4 de reb gest. Eman. which may add some small 
light vnto the treatise before mentioned.
But (saith he) in this part of Ethiopia lying beyond the cape of good hope which is
bounded by the south Ocean, there is a most ample kingdome called Benomotapa,
whereunto before such time as the Portugals discouered those parts, all the kings
vpon that coast were most obedientlie subject. It aboundeth with gold beyond all
credite: which is taken euen out of their riuers and lakes. Yea many Beo,,otape
most rich in
kings there are which pay yeerely tribute of gold vnto this gold. king of
Benomotapa. The people worship no Idols, but acknowledge one God the creatour
of heauen and earth. In habite and apparell they are not much vnlike to other
Ethiopians. They worship their king with woonderfull superstition. This king in
his scutcheon or coate of armes The kings hath two signes of maiestie. One is a
certaine little spade armes.

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with a handle of iuorie. The other are two small darts.
By the spade he exhorteth his subjects to husbandrie, that they may not through
sloth and negligence let the earth lie vntilled, and so for want be constrained to
play the theeues.
The one of his darts betokeneth, that he will be a seuer punishment of malefactors;
& the other, that he will by valoure & force of armes resist all forren iuasions.
The sonnes of his tributarie kings are trained vp in his court; .4 discreet both to
the end that by this education they may learne course.
loialtie and loue towards him their soueraigne, and also that they may remaine as
pledges to keepe their fathers in awe and due obedience. He is continually
guarded with a mightie armie; notwithstanding he be conioined in most firme
league with all his neighbour-princes. For by this meanes he supposeth that warre
cannot procure him. any danger at all, knowing right well that oftentimes in the
midst of peace it is readie to disturbe the securitie of Princes. Evry yeere this
king sendeth certaine of his A yeerely courtiers and servants to bestow in his
name newe fire vpon superstitious
custo,,e of dis- all the princes and kings within his dominions, that from tributin-
fire
from the kig them it may be distributed vnto others also. Which is tolhistributarie
princes. done in manner following. The messenger being come to
the house of any prince, his fire is immediately quenched.
Then there is a new fire kindled by the messenger: and foorthwith all the
neighbours resort thither to fetch of the said new fire for their houses. Which
whosoever refuseth to performe, is helde as a traiterous rebell, and receiueth such
punishment as is liable to high treason ; yea if need be, an armie is leuied to
apprehend him, to the end that being taken, he may be put to such tortments as are
correspondent to his disloialtie. Hitherto Osorius.

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The Xeriffo, commonly called The king of Maroco, Sus, and Fez. Among all the princes of Africa, I suppose that there is not anie one, who in richness of state, or greatness of power, may be preferred before the Zeriffo: In that his dominion, which comprehendeth all that part of Mauritania, called by the Romaines Tingitana, extendeth it selfe north & south from Capo Boiador, even to Tanger, and east and west from the Atlanticke Ocean, as farre as the river Muluia, and somewhat further also, in which space is comprehended the fairest, fruitfulllest, best inhabited, and most civil part of all Afrique, and among other the states, the most famous kingdoms of Maroco and Fez. With the particular description whereof, and of all the provinces, cities, townes, riuers, mountaines, &c. therein contained, the Reader may satisfie himselfe to the full in the second and third bookes of the historie of John Leo before set downe.

These kingdoms besides their natural fertility, are very traffickable; for though the king of Fez hath no haven of importance vpon the Mediterranean sea, neuerthelesse the English, French, and other nations traffick much to his ports vpon the Ocean, especially to * Larache, Santa Cruz, * Described by Leo in his-fiftA Cabo de Guer, and in other places pertaining partly to the booke vnde, the name of Lhakingdome of Fez, and partly to Maroco; and they bring raisthether copper, and brasse, with armes and divers commodities of Europe, for which among other things they returne sugar.

But because these kingdoms of Maroco and Fez, and divers other Signiories, and Principalities, at first separate and devided, were vnited not long sithence vnnder one Prince, who is called * the Xeriffo, it will not be much from * Or Miramon in our purpose (because among the accidents of our times, I think there is not any one, more notable or wond-erfull then this) to set downe here how the matter passed.

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About the yeere of our Lord 1508 a certaine Alchaide, The mannerhow borne in Tigumdet a towne of Dara, whose name was the Xeriffos aspired to the Mahumet Benametto, and who caused himselfe to be called kingdoms of Maroco, Sus, Zerio, being a subtle man, and of a minde no lesse and Fez. ambitious, then learned in those sciences, whereunto the Mahumetans are most addicted, began to grow famous in the townes of Numidia. This man vaunting himselfe to be descended of Mahumets progenie, was possessed with an imagination (trusting in the deuision of the States of Africke, wherein then the Port-ugals bore great sway) of Or the king- taking into his owne hands all * Mauritania Tingitana. domes of Aaroco, and Fez. For performance of this, he first sent his three sonnes, Abdel, Abnet, and Mahumet, in pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, there to visit & do reuerence to the sepulchre of their Seductor Mahumet. The yong men performed this voyage with so great fame and reputation of sanctitie and religion
(if these words may be vsed, in declaring of such an impietie) that in their returne, the people came out to meete them, kissed their garments, and reuerence d them as saints. They fayning themselves to be rauished into deepe contemplati on, went vp and downe the streetes sighing, and crying out in words interrupted with lamentation & yerning: A1la, Ala; and they Hued of nothing but almes. Their father hauing taken them home with great mirth and ioy : but yet not minding to suffer this sudden applause & credit, which they had obtayned by such a pilgrimage, to freeze and wax cold; he sent two of them which were Or Abnet. * Amet and Maahumet to Fez; where being courteously receiued by the king, one of them became a Reader in the Amodoraccia, a most famous colledge of that citie, and the yoongest was made tutor to the same kings yoong sonnes.

These two seeing themselues so entirely beloued of the king, and in so great fauour with the people, being aduised by their father, and taking occasion vpon the damage which the Arabians & Moores did to those of their owne

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law and sect, vnder the ensignes of the Portugals, in whose paie they serued. They demaunded leaue of the king to display a banner against the Christians, putting him in hope, (as indeed it fell out) that they would easily draw those Moores vnto him, who were followers of the crowne of Portugall, and by this means secure the prouinces of Sus, Hea; Ducala, Maroco, with others molested, & euilly entreated by the Portugals. This request was contradicted by Mullei Nazer, brother to the king: for (said he) "if these men, vnder pretence of holines, and defence of their law, shall haue some prosperous proceedings with armes in hand, it will not afterwards be in thy power (0 king) to bridle or bring them downe: for armes make men couragious, & by victories they prooue insolent, & the rout of ambitious people are alwaies desirous of innovation." But the king who had a great opinion of their sanctitie, making small account of the reasons his brother alleaged vnto him, gaue them a banner, and drumslade, and twentie horse to accomapnie them, with letters of recommendation to the Arabians, the princes, and the cities of Barbarie. With these beginnings many people running headlong after their fame, they ouercame Ducala, and the countrey of* Saphia, and went forward even as farre as Cabo de * Or Azaphi. Guer (which places then were subiect to the Portugals) and finding themselues strong, both in retinue and credite, they demanded of the people (who at that time liued for the most part freely, and came in to none, but such as they liked of themselues) that seeing they now tooke vp armes for the Mahumetane law against the Christians, they should aide them with their tenthes due vnto God : the which were presently yeelded vnto them by the people of Dara, and so they seazed by little and little vpon Tarodant (where their father was made gouernour) and likewise of Sus, Hea, Ducala, and other places adioining. They first p!anted themselues in Tednest, and then in Tesarote, and
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in a conflict overthrew Lopes Barriga, a famous captain amongst the Portugals: but so they lost their own elder brother therein. And afterwards by faire words entring into the citie of Maroco, they poisoned the king, and in his stead made Amet Zeriffo to be proclaimed king of Maroco. In the meanwhile the Arabians of Ducala, & Xarquia came to hand blowes with those of Garbia, each partie holding themselues in the Xeriffoes fauour; but the Zeriftos perceiuing the skirmish to grow hot, and that many both of the one and of the other party went to wrack, turned their armes against them both, and enriched themselues with their spoiles. In former times they vsed to send vnto the king of Fez the fift of all those booties which they got; but after this victory, making no reckoning of their said custom, they presented him only with six horses, and six camels, & those but silly ones: wherat being mooued, he sent to demand of them the fift part of their spoiles, and the tribute that the king of Maroco paid him, threatning otherwise warre vpon them. But in the meane while, this man dying, Amet his sonne, who was scholler to the yoonger Zeriffo, was not onely content, but further confirmed Amel in the Signiorie of Maroco, so that in some small matter he would acknowledge the kings of Fez for soueraigne Princes ouer that citie. But on the other side the Xeriffi, whose reputation and power daily encreased, when the time of paying tribute came, sent to certifie this yoong king, that being lawfull successors to Mahumet, they were not bound to paie tribute to any, and that they had more right to Affrica then he: so that if he would haue them his friends, so it were; otherwise if he ment to diuert them from this their warre against the Christians, they should not want courage nor power to defend themselues. Wherewith the Fessan king being offended, proclaimed warre against them, and went himselfe in person to the siege of Maroco: but at the very first he was druuen to dislodge: and afterwards returning with eighteen thousand horse, amongst whom were two thousand harquebuziers, or bowmen, he was vanquished by the Xeriffi, who had no more but seuen thousand horse, and twelue hundred harquebuziers which were placed on the way at the passage of a riuer. By meanes of this victorie the Xeriffz shooke off the tribute of that countrie, and passing ouer Atlas, they tooke Tafilet, an important citie: and partly by faire meanes, partly by force, they brought diuers people of Numidia to their obedience, as also those of the montaines. In the yeere of our Lord 1536. the yoonger Xeriffo who was now called king of Sus, hauing gathered together a mightie armie, and much artillerie, taken in part from the king of Fez, and partly cast by the French Renegados, he Artuie c.,St by French went to the enterprise of Cabo de Guer, a very important Renegados. fortification, held then by the Portugals, which was built and fortified first at the charge of Lopes Sequeira," and afterward, knowing their opportunitie from the king Don Emanuel, there was fought on both sides a most terrible battell. In the end, fire taking hold on the munition, and vpon this the soldiers being daunted that
defended the fortresse, the Xeriffò entred thereinto, tooke the towne, and made the greatest part of the garrison his prisoners. By this victorie the Zeriffi brought in a manner all Atlas and the kingdome of Maroco to their obedience, & those Arabians who serued the crowne of Portugall. Whereupon king John the third seeing that his expences farre exceeded the reuenues which came in, of his owne accord gaue ouer Safia, Azamor, Arzilla, and Alcazar, holds which he had on the coast of Mauritania.

This prosperitie was an occasion of grieuous discord betwixt the Brothers: the issue whereof was, that the younger hauing in two battels subdued the elder (whereof the second was in the yeere of our Lord 1554) and taken him prisoner, he banished him to Tafilet: and afterwards

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turning his armes against the king of Fez, after hauing taken him once prisoner, and then releasing him, he yet the second time (because he brake promise) got him into his handes againe, deprevied him of his estate, and in the end caused both him and his sonsse to be slaine; and by meanes of his owne sonsse he also tooke Tremizen.

In the meane while Sal Araes viceroy of Algier fearing the Xeriffos prosperous successe, gathered together a great armie, with which he first recoured Tremizen, & afterwards defeating the Xeriffò, conquered Fez, and gaue the government thereof to Buasson Prince of Veles: but this man ioyning battle with the Xeriffò, lost at one instant both his citie and kingdome. In the ende Mahumet going to Tarodant was vpon the way slaine in his pavilion by the treason of some Turkes, suborned thereunto by the viceroy of Algier, of whom one Assen was the chiefe: who together with his companions went into Trodant, and there made hauocke of the kinges treasures: But in their returne home, they were all, but flue, slaine by the people, in the yeere 1559: and Jullei Abdala the Xeriffos sonne, was proclaimed and saluted king Let thus much suffice to haue bin spok en of the Xeriffò: whose proceedinges appeare much like to those of Ismael the sophie of Persia. Both of them procured followers by bloud and the cloake of religion: both of them subdued in short time many countries: both of them grew grea t by the ruine of their neighbours both of them receiued greeuous checkes by the Turkes, and lost a part of their states: for Selym tooke from Ismael, Cacamit and duiers other cities of Diarbena: And the viceroy of Algier did driue the Xeriffò out of Tremizen, and his other quarters: And euen as Selim won Tauris, the head citie of Persia, and afterwarde gaue it ouer: so Sal Araes took Fez the head citie of Mauritania, and then after abandoned the same

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The Xeriffò his reuenues, or cominges in. The Xeriffò is absolute Lord of all his subiects goods, yea and of their persons also. For though he charge them with neuer so burdensome tributes, and impositions; yet dare they not so much as open their
mouthes: He receiueth from his tributarie vassals, the tenthes, and first fruits of their come and cattell. True it is, that for the first fruits he taketh no more but one for twentie, and the whole being aboue twentie, he demandeth no more then two, though it amount to an hundred.  For every dayes tilth of grounde he hath a ducate and a quarter, and so much likewise for euerie house; as also, he hath after the same rate of euerie person aboue fifteene yeers old, male, or female; and when need requireth, a greater summe: and to the end that the people may the more cheerefullie pay that which is imposed vpon them, he alwaies demaundeth halfe as much more as he is to receiue. Most true it is, that on the mountaines there inhabite certaine fierce and vntamed people, who by reason of the steep, craggie, and inexpugnable situation of their countrie cannot be forced to tributes; that which is gotten of them, is the tenth of their come and fruits, onely that they may be permitted to have recourse into the plaines. Besides these reuenues, the king hath the towles and customes of Fez, and of other cities: For at the entring of their goods, the natural citizen payeth two in the hundred, and the stranger ten. *He hath further, the reuenues of milles, and many other thinges, the summe whereof is very great: for the milles yeelded him little lesse then halfe a roayall of plate, for euerie Hanega of come that is ground in Fez, where, (as they say) Caruuen Ike there are aboue foure hفيدred mîls. The moschea of princiePall-líllímetan

Caruuen had fourscore thousand ducates of rent: the temple in Fez, being a mile colledges and hospitals of Fez had also many thousands, and an ha fe about Read Al which the king hath at this present. And further he Leo, lib. 3.

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is heire to all the Alcaydes, and them that haue pension of him, and at their deaths he possesseth their horses, armour, garments, and al their goodes. Howbeit if the deceased leaue any sonnes apt for the seruice of the warres, he granteth them their fathers prouision; but if they be but young, he bringeth vp the male children to yeeres of seruice, and the daughters, till they be married. And therefore, that he may haue some interest in the goods of rich men, he bestoweth vpon them some governement, or charge, with prouision. Wherefore for feare of confiscation after death, euery one coueteth to hyde his wealth, or to remoue far from the court, and the kings sight. For which cause the citie of Fez commeth far short of hir ancient glorie. Besides, his reuenues have beene augmented of late yeeres by mightie sums of gold, which he fetcheth from Tombuto and Gago in the lande of Negros; which gold (according to the report of some) may yeerely amount to three millions of ducates.

His Forces.

Te Xeriffó hath not any Fortresses of great importance, but only vpon the sea-coast, as Cabo de Guer, Larache, and Tetuan : for as the Turks and Persians do, so he placeth the strength of his state in armed men: but especially in horse. And for this cause he standeth not much vpon his artillerie; although hee hath very great store (which his predecessors tooke from the Portugals and others) in Fez, Maroco, Tarodant, and in the foresaide portes; causing also more to bee cast,
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They call their habitations, each one of them consisting of an hundred, or two hundred pavilions) governed by divers Alchaides, to the end they may be readie in time of need. These serue on horse-backe, but they are rather to be accounted theues, then true soldiers. His fift kinde of forces militarie, are somewhat like unto the trained soldiers of Christian princes; and among these, the inhabitants of cities and villages of the kingdome, and of the mountaines are enrolled. It is true, that the king makes but little account of them, & very seldom puts armes into

When neede requireth; for he wanteth not masters of Europe in this Science. He hath an house of munition in Maroco, where they make ordinarily six and fortie quintals of powder euery moneth; as likewise also caliuers and steele-bowes. In the yeere of our Lord 1569. a fire tooke hold on these houses with such furie, that a great part of the citie was destroyed therewith. But for the Xeriffoes forces, they are of two sorts: the first is of two thousand seuen hundred horse, and two thousand harquibuziers, which he hath partly in Fez, but most in Maroco (where he is resident) being as it were of his daily guard. The second is of a roiall squadron of sixe thousand gentlemen, being all of noble parentage, and of great account. These men are mounted vpon excellent horses, with furniture arid armes, for varietie of colour most beautifull, and for riches of ornament beyonde measure estimable: for every thing about them shineth with gold, siluer, pearle, jewels, and whatsoever else may please the eie, or satisfie the curiositie of beholders. These men, besides prouision of come, oile, butter and flesh, for themselves, their wiuers, children, and seruants, receiue further in wages, from seuentie to an hundred ounces of siluer a man. The third sort of forces which he hath, consisteth of his * Timariotti: for the These are a militarie Xeriffo granteth to all his sons, and brothers, and other orde like persons of account or authoritie among the people of which hold land with vs Africke, or to the princes of the Arabians, the benefite of vnder the great Lordships & tenures for sustentation of his Cauallarie: eniu,-e of knights serviece. and the Alchaides themselues till the fields, and afterwards reape rice, oile, barly, butter, sheepe, hens, and monie, and distribute the same monethly to the soldiers; according to the seuerall qualitie of their persons. They also giue them cloth, linnen, and silke to apparell themselues, armes of offence, and defence, and horses, with which they serue in the warres, and if they die or be killed, they allow them other. A thing which was also vsed in Rome, towards them that serued on publike horses. Euerie one of these leaders contendeth to bring his people into the fielde well ordred, for armes, apparell, and horses: besides this, they haue betwene fower and twentie and thirtie ounces of siluer wages euery yeete. His fourth militarie forces, are the Arabians, who liue continually in their Auari, (for so

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their hands, for feare of insurrections and rebellions, except in the warres against
the Christians, for then he cannot conueniently forbid them: For it being written in
their law, that if a Moor kil a Christian, or is slaine by him, he goeth directly into
Paradise, (a diabolicall inuention) men, women, and those of euery age and
degree, run to the warres hand ouer head, that at least they may there be slaine ;
and by this meanes (according to their foolish opinion) gaine heauen. No lesse
zeale, to our confusion, may we perceiue in the Turks especially for defence of
their sect: for one would thinke they went to a marriage, and not to the warre,
scarcely being able with patience to attend their prefixed time of going thither.
They repute them holy and happie, that die with armes in hand against their
enemies ; as on the contrarie, those men vnhappie, and of little woorth, that die at
home, amidst the lamentation of children, and outcries of women.
By the things aboue set downe, we may easily comprehend, what numbers of men
the Xeriffo can bring into the field : but yet we may learne better by experience.
For Mullei Abdala in the yeere I562. besieged Mazagan with two hundred
thousand men, choaking the ditch with a mountaine of earth, and beating downe
the walles thereof with his Artillerie : but for all this, he was enforce d by the
valour of the Portugals, and the damage which he receiued

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by their mines, to giue ouer his siege. Besides, this Prince can not continue a great
war, aboue two, or three moneths: and the reason hereof is, because his forces
liuing on that prouision which he hath daylie comming in, as well for sustenance
as for aparrell, and not being able to haue all this conducted thither, where the war
requireth, it followeth of necessitie, that in short time they must needs returne
home for their maintenance of life: and further it is an evident thing, that no man
can protract a war at length, except he be rich in treasure. Molucco who
ouerthrew Sebastian king of Portugal, had in pay vnder his ensignes fortie
thousand horse, and eight thousand foote besides Arabians and adventurers : But
it is thought, he could haue brought into the field, seuentie thousand horse, and
more foot then he did.
Of the dominions and fortresses which the king of Spaine hath vpon the Isles and
maine landes of Africa, and
of the great quantity of treasure and other commodities which are brought from
thence.
B Esides Oran, Mersalquibir, Melilla and Pennon which
the king of Spaine possesseth within the streights ; as likewise 9euta, Tanger, and
Arzil, which by the title of Portugal he holdeth very neere the streights of
Gibraltar; and Mazagan in like sort without the streights mouth, twenty miles to
the southward of Arzil: he hath along the coast of Affrick, from Cape de Guer, to
that of Guardafu, two sorts of states : for some are immediately vnder him, and
others are as it were his adherents. The Ilands of Madera, Puerta Santo, the
Canaries, the Isles of Arguin, of Cabo Verde, the isle Del Principe, with that of
Sant Thomas, and others neere adioining, are immediately vnder his dominion.
These islands are maintained with their owne victuall, and prouision, and yet they haue also some out of Europe, as in like manner they send some thither:

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* Afine author heere much mistaketh the matter.
especially sugars and fruits, wherewith the isle of Madera woonderfully aboundeth, as also with wine. And the isle of Sant Thomas likewise hath great abundance of sugars. These States haue no incumbrance, but by the English and French men of warre,* which for all that go not beyond Cape Verde. At the isles of Arguin, and at Sant George de la Mina, the Portugals haue planted factories in forme of fortresses, by meanes of which, they trade with the bordering people of Guinie and Libya, and get into their hands the gold of Mandinga, and other places neere about. Among the adherent Princes, the richest and most honourable, is the king of Congo, in that his kingdome is one of the most flourishing and plentifull countries in all Ethiopia. The Portugals haue there two Colonies, one in the citie of S. Salvador, and an other in the island Loanda. They haue diuers rich commodities from this kingdome, but the most important is euery yeere about 5000. slaues, which they transport from thence, and sell them at good round prizes in all the isles and maine lands of the west Indies: and for the head of euerie slate so taken vp, there is a good taxe paid to the crowne of Portugall. From this kingdome one might easily go to the countrie of Prete Zanni, for it is not thought to be very farre of: and it doth so abound with Elephants, victuall, and all other necessarie things, as would bring singular ease and commodity to such an enterprise. Upon the kingdome of Congo confineth Angola, with whose prince of late yeeres Paulo Dias a Portugall captaine made war: and the principall occasion of this warre are certain mines of siluer, in the mountaines of Cabambe, no whit inferior to those of Potossi ; but by so much are they better, as fine siluer goeth beyond that which is base, and course. And out of doubt, if the Portugals had esteemed so well of things neere at hand, as they did of those farther off and remote, and had thither bent their forces wherewith they passed Cabo de bueno esperan~a, 

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and went to India, Malaca, and the Malucoes ; they had more easily, and with lesse charge found greater wealth: for there are no countries in the world richer in gold and siluer, then the kingdomes of Mandinga, Ethiopia, Congo, Angola, Butua, Toroa, Maticuo, Boro, Quiticui, Monomotapa, Cafati, and Mohenemugi. But humane auarice esteemeth more of an other mans, then his owne, and things remote appeere greater then those neere at hand. Betweene Cabo de buena esperan~a, and Cape Guardafu, the Portugals haue the fortresses of Sena, Céphala, and Mozambique. And by these they continue masters of the trade with the bordering nations, all which abound in gold and iuorie. By these fortresses they haue special commoditie, for their nauigation to the Indies; because their fleetes sometimes winter, and otherwhiles victuall, and refresh themselues there. In these parts the king of Melinde is their greatest friend, and those of Quiloa, and
other neighbour-islands, are their tributaries. The Portugals want nothing but men. For besides other islands, which they leave in a manner abandoned, there is that of Saint Laurence, one of the greatest in all the world (being a thousand two hundred miles long, and four hundred and four-score broad) the which, though it be not well tilled, yet for the goodness of the soil it is apt and fit to be manured, nature having distinguished it with rivers, harbours, & most commodious bays. These States belonging to the crown of Portugal, fear no other but such sea-forces, as may be brought thither by the Turks. But the daily going to and fro of the Portuguese fleets, which coast along up and down those seas, altogether secure them. In the year 1589, they took near Mombaza, four galleys, and a galliot, belonging to the Turks, who were so bold as to come even thither.

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The dominions of the great Turk in Africa.
The great Turk possesseth in Africa all the sea-coast from Valez de Gumera, or (as some hold opinion) from the river Muluia, which is the eastermost limit of the kingdom of Fez, even to the Arabian gulf or Red sea, except some few places (as namely Mersalcabir, Melilla, Oran, and Pennon) which the king of Spain holdeth. In which space before mentioned are situate sundrie of the most famous cities and kingdoms in all Barbary; that is to say, Tremizen, Alger, Tenez, Bugia, Constantina, Tunis, Tripolis, and all the countrey of Egypt, from Alexandria to the city of Asna, called of old Sienne, together with some part of Arabia Trogldyctica, from the town of Suez to that of Suachen. Also in Africa the grand Signor hath five viceroyalties, called by the names of Beglerbegs or Bassas, namely at Alger, Tunis, Tripolis, at Missir for all Egypt, and at Suacher for those places which are challenged by the great Turk in the dominions of Prete Janni. Finally, in this part at Suez in the bottome of the Arabian gulf, is one of his four principal Arsenals, or places for the building, repairing, docking, and harbouring of his warlike galleys, which may lie here under couert, to the number of five and twenty bottoms.

A4 summarie discourse of the manifold Religions professed in Africa: and first of the Gentiles.
Africa containeth four sorts of people different in religion: that is to say, Gentiles, Iewes, Mahumetans, and Christians. The Gentiles extend themselves along the shoare of the Ocean, in a manner from Cabo o 00 o I Blanco, or the white Cape, even to the northern borders of Congo, as likewise, from the southerly bounds of the same kingdom, even to Cape de buena Esperan-α: & from thence, to that of De los Corrientes: and within the land they spread out from the Ethiopick Ocean, even unto Nilus, and beyond Nilus also from the Ethiopick, to the Arabian sea. These Gentiles are of divers sorts, for some of them have no light of God, or religion, neither are they governed by any rule or
law. Wherupon the Arabians call them Cafri, that is to say, lawlesse, or without law. They haue but fewe habitationes. and they Hue for the most part in causes of mountaines, or in woods, wherein they finde some harbour from winde and raine. The ciuilest among them, who haue some vnderstanding and light of diuinitie and religion, obey the Monomotapa, whose dominion extendeth with a great circuite, from the confines of Matama, to the riuer Cuama: but the noblest part thereof is comprehended betweene the mightie riuer of Magnice or Spirito Sancto, and that of Cuama, for the space of sixe hundred leagues. They haue no idols, and beleue in one only God, called by them

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Mozimo. Little differing from these we may esteeme the subiects of Mohenemugi. But among all the Cafri, the people called Agag or Giacchi, are reputed most brutish, inhabiting in woods and dens, and being devourers of mans flesh. They dwell vpon the left banke of Nilus, betweene the first and second lake. The Anzichi also haue a shambles of mans flesh, as we haue of the flesh of Oxen. They eate their enimies whom they take in war; they sell their slaues to butchers, if they can light on no greater prise : and they inhabit from-the riuer Zaire, even to the deserts of Nubia. Some others of them are rather addicted to witchcraft, then to idolatry : considering that in a man, the feare of a superior power is so naturall, that though he adore nothing vnder the name and title of a God, yet doth he reverence and feare some superioritie, although he know not what it is. Such are the Biafresi, and their neighbours, all of them being addicted in such sort to witchcraft, as that they vaunt, that by force of enchantment, they, can not onely charme, and make men die, much more. molest and bring them to hard point: but further, raise windes and raine, and make the skie to thunder and lighten, and that they can destroy all herbes and plants, and make the flockes and heards of cattell to fall downe dead. Whereupon they reverence more the diuell then any thing else: sacrificing vnto him of their beasts and fruits of the earth, yea their owne bloud also, and their children. . Such are likewise the priests of Angola, whom they call, Ganghe. These make profession that they haue in their hands dearth and abundance; faire weather and foule ; life and death . For which cause it can not be expressed, in what veneration they are held among those Barbarians. In the yeere 1587. a Portugall captaine being in a part.of Angola with his soldiers, a Ganga was requested by the peopl& to refresh the fields, which were drie and withered, with some quantitie 6f water. - Hee needed :no great intreatie,-but

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going forth with .diuers little bels, in presence of the Portugals, he spent halfe an hower in fetching sundry gambols & skips, & vtttering diuers superstitious murmurings: and behold, a cloud arose in the aire, with lightning and thunder. The Portugals grew amazed; but all the Barbarians with great joy admired and extolled vnto heauen, their Ganga, who now gaue out intolerable brags, not knowing what hung ouer his head: For the windes outrageously blowing, the skie thundring after a dreadfull manner, in stead of the raine by him promised, there
fell a thunderbolt, which like a sword cut his head cleane from his, shoulders. Some other idolaters not looking much aloft, worship earthly things: such were the people of Congo before their conversion, and are at this day those, that have not yet received the Gospell. For these men worship certaine dragons with wings, and they foolishly nourish them in their houses, with the delicatest meates that they have. They worship also serpents of horrible shape, goats, tygers, and other creatures, and the more they feare and reverence them, by how much the more deformed and monstrous they are. Amongst the number of their gods also, they reckon bats, owles, owlets, trees, and herbes, with their figures in wood and stone: and they do not onely worship these beastes living, but euen their very skins when they are dead, being filled with straw, or some other matter: and the manner of their idolatrie is, to bow downe before the foresaid things, to cast themselues grouelling vpon the earth, to couer their faces with dust, and to offer vnto them of their best substance. Some lifting vp their mindes a little higher, worship starres, such be the people of Guihie, and their neighbours, who are enclined to the worship of the same sunne, the greatest part of them: and they hold opinion, that the soules of those dead that liued well, mount vp into heauen, and there dwell perpetually neere, ntb the sunne. Neither want there amongst these, certaine

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others so superstitious, as they worship for God the first thing they meete withall, comming out of their houses. They also hold their kings in the account & estimation of Gods, whom they suppose to be descended from heauen, & their kings to maintaine themselues in such high reputation, are serued with woonderfull ceremonies, neither will they be seene but very seldome.

Of the Jewes.

The Iewes who haue bene dispersed by god throughout the whole world, to confirme vs in the holie faith, entered into Ethiopia in the Queen of Sabas daies, in companie of a son that Salomon had by her, to the number (as the Abassins affirme) of twelue thousand, and there multiplied their generation exceedingly. In that they not onely filled Abassia, but spread themselues likewise all ouer the neighbour prouinces. So that at this day also the Abassins affirme, that vpon Nilus towards the west, there inhabiteth a most populous nation of the lewish stock, vnder a mightie K. And some of our moderne Cosmographers set downe a prouince in those quarters, which they call The land of the Hebrewes, placed as it were vnder the equinoctiall, in certaine vknowne mountaines, betweene the confines of Abassia, and Congo. And likewise on the north part of the kingdome of Goiame, and the southerly quarter of the kingdome of Gorham there are certaine mountaines, peopled with Jewes, who there maintaine themselues free, and absolute, through the inaccessible situations of the same. For in truth by this means, the inhabitants of the mountaines (speaking generally) are the most ancient, and freest people:- in that the strong situation of their natuie soile secureth them from the incursions of forraine nations, and the
violence of their neighbours. Such are the Scottes in Britaine, and the Biskaines in Spaine. But to return againe to our purpose: the Anzichi,

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who extend from the bankes of the riever Zaire, euen to the confines of Nubia, vse circumcision, as also diuers other bordering people do, a thing that must necessarilie have been brought in by the lewes, & yet remayning stil in vse, after the annihilation of the Mosaicall law amongst them. Some also think, that the people called Cafri or Cafates at this day, who are gentiles, draw their originall from the Iewes, but being enuironed on euery side by Idolaters, they haue by little and little swarued from the law of Moses: and so are become, as it were, insensibly, Idolaters. On the other side, the Iewes being woonderfully increased in Spaine, passed one after an other into Affricke and Mauritania, and dispersed themselues euen to the confines of Numidia, especiallie by meanes of traffick, and the profession of goldsmithes, the which being vtterly forbidden the Mahumetans, is altogether practised amongst them by the lewes, as are likewise diuers other mechanicall crafts, but principallie that of black smithes. A thing which notablie appeareth in mount Sessaua in the kingdome of Maroco, and in mount Anteta. It is said that Eitdeuet, a towne in the kingdome of Maroco, was inhabited by the Iewes, of the stock (as they affirme) of Dauid, who notwithstanding by little and little are growne Mahumetans. The Iewes encreased afterwards in Affrick, when first Emanuell king of Portugal, put them forth of their dominions: For then many went ouer into the kingdomes of Fez and Maroco, and brought in thither the artes and professions of Europe vnknowne before to those Barbarians. In Bedis, Teza, Elmedina, Tefsa, and in Segelmesse euery place is full of them. They passe also by way of traffick euen to Tombuto, although John Leo writeth how that king was so greatly their enemie, that he confiscated the goods of those that traded with them. It importeth me not to speake of Egypt, because it hath euer beene, as well by reason of the neernes of Palestina, as for the commodity of

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traffick, whereunto they are much enclined, as it were, their second countrie. Here in great number, and in a manner in all the cities and townes thereof, they exercise mechanicall arts, and vse traffick and merchandize, as also take vpon them the receit of taxes and customes : but aboue all other places, in Alexandria and Cairo, where they amount to the number of flue and twentie thousand, and the ciuiller sort among them do usuallie speake the Castilian toung.

Thus much may suffice to haue bin spoken concerning the Iewes. It now remaineth, that we come to intreat of the Mahumetans of Africa. Concerning whom, before we make any particular relation, it will not be amisse ; for the readers more perfect instruction, to speake somewhat in generall: as namely of the sinister proceedings of their first seducer Mahumet ; of the variety and propagation of their damned sects ouer the east and south parts of the world; of the fewe principall nations which are the mainteiners and upholders of this diabolical religion; and of sundry other particulars most worthie the obseruation.
Of Mahumet, and of his accursed religion in general.

Mahumet, his father, was a certaine profligate Idolater called Abdald, of the stock of Zsmael, and his mother was one *Hennina a Jew, both of them being of very humble, and poor condition. He was borne in the yeere of our Lord 562. and was endow'd with a grave countenance and a quick wit. Being growne to mans estate, the Scenite Arabians, accustomed to rob, and runnie all over the countrie, tooke him prisoner, and sold him to a Persian merchant, who discerning him to be apt, and subtile about busines, affected and held him in such account, that after his death his mistresse remaining a widow, scorned not to take him for her husband. Being therefore inriched by this means, with goods and credit, he raised vp his minde to greater matters. The times then answered.

* Or Emina

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very fitly for one that woulde disturbe or worke any innouation. For the Arabians vpon some euill entreatie were malecontented with the Emperour Heraclius. The heresies of Arrius and Nestorius, had in a miserable sort shaken and annoied the church of God. The Jewes, though they wanted power, yet amounted they to a great number. The Saracens preuailed mightily, both in number and force. And the Romaine Empire was full of slaves. Mahumet therefore taking hold on this opportunitie, framed a law, wherein all of them should haue some part, or prerogatiue. In this, two Apostata Jewes, and two heretikes, assisted him: of which one was lohn, being a scholler of Nestorius schoole; and the other Sergius, of the sect of Arrius. Whereupon the principal intention of this cursed law was wholie aimed against the diuinitie of our Sauior Iesus Christ, wickedly oppugned by the Jewes and Arrians. He persuadde this law, first by giuing his wife to understand, and his neighbours by her meanes, and by little and little others also, that he conversed with the angell Gabriell, vnto whose brightnes he ascribed the falling sicknes, which many times prostrated him vpon the earth: dilating and amplifying the same in like sort, by permitting all that which was plausible to sense and the flesh; as also by offering libertie to all slaves that would come to him, and receiue his law. Wherefore being prosecuted hard by the masters of those fugitive slaves led away by him, he fledde to Medina Talnabi, and there remained some time. From this flight the Mahumetans fetch the originall of their Hegeira. But questionlesse there was nothing that furthered more the enlargement of the Mahometan sect, then prosperitie in armes, and the multitude of victories; whereby Makiumet overthrew the Persians, became lord of Arabia, and draue the Romaines out of Syria. And his successors afterwards extended their empire from Euphrates to the Atlantick Ocean, and

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from the riuer Niger to the Pirenei mountaines, and beyond.
They occupied Sicilia, assailed Italy, and with continuall prosperitie, as it were, for three hundred yeeres, either subdued, or encumbred, both the east & west. But to returne to Mahumet his law, it embraceth circumcision, & maketh a difference between meats pure, & vnpure, partly to allure the lewes. It denieth the Diuinitie of Christ, to reconcile the Arrians, who were then most mightie; it foisteth in many friuolous fables, that it might fit the Gentiles: & looseth the bridle to the flesh, which is a thing acceptable to the greatest part of men. Whereupon Auicen (though he were a Mahumetan) writeth thus of such a law: Lex nostra (saith he) quam dedit Mahumeth, &c. that is to say, Our Law, which Mahumet gaue vs, regardeth the disposition offelicitie or misery, according to the body. But there is anotherpromise, which concerneth the minde, or the soule: whichwise Diuines had a farre greater desire to apprehend, then that of the body, which though it be giuen vnto them, yet respect they it not, nor hold it in any estimation in comparision of that felicitie which is a coniunction with truth.

Or flaly. Mahumet being dead, *Alid, Abubequer, Omar, and Odoman his kinsemen, each of them pretending to be his true successor, wrote distinctly euery one by himselfe. Vpon which there did arise fower seuerall sects. AId was head of the sect Imemia, being followed by the Persians, Indians, and many Arabians, and Gelbines of Africa. Abubequer gaue foundation to the sect Melchia, embraced generally by the Arabians, Saracens and Africans. Omar was author of the Anesia, which is on foote among the Turks in Syria, and in that part of Africk which is called Zahara. Odman left behind him the Banesia, or Xefaia, as we may terme it, which wanteth not followers among the foresaid nations. Of these fower sects, in processe of time, haue growen sixtie eight other verie famous, besides some

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of lesse renowne and fame. Among the many Mahumetan sects, there are the Morabites, who lead their Hues for the most part in Hermitages, and make profession of Morall Philosophie, with certaine principles differing from the Alcoran. One of these was that Morabite, which certayne yeeres past, shewing Mahumet his name imprinted in his brest (being done with Aqua Fortis, as I suppose, or some such thing) raised vp a great number of Arabians in Africk, and laide siege to Tripolis; where being betrayed by his captaine, he remained the Turkes prisoner, who sent his skin to the grand Signor. This man being in prison, said to an Italian slaue, his familiar, who went to visite him; I greeue at nothing but you Christians, who haue abandoned me. In that the knights of Malta onely sent him small succour, of powder and shot. These Morabites affirme, (to declare some of their fooleries) that when AILMJ fought, he killed ten thousand Christians with one blow of a sworde, and that this sword was an hundred cubits long. Then there is the foolish, and brutish sect of Coblini. One of these shewed himselfe not many yeeres sithence in the market places and quarters of Algier, mounted on a
reed, with a bridle and raines of leather, giuing the multitude to understand, that upon that horse in one night, he rid an hundred leagues; and he was for this greatly honored and reverenced.

In tract of time, there grew amongst the Mahumetans, through the vanitie of their law, and the incredible variety and difference of opinions, great disorders: For their sect being not onely wicked, and treacherous (as we have declared) but also grosse and foolish, those that made profession thereof to defend and maintain it, were enforced to make a thousand interpretations and constructions, far sometimes from reason, and otherwhiles from the expresse words of Mahumet him selfe. The Califas endeavoured mightily to reforme this; but their provisions of greatest importance were two. For first, Moauia (this man flourished about the yeere of our Lord 770) called an assembly of learned and judiciaull men, to establish that which in their sect should be beleued, and to this end he caused all the bookes of Mahumet, and his successors, to be gathered together. But they not agreeing amongst themselues, he chose out of them, sixe of the most learned, and shutting them within an house, with the said writings, he commaunded them, that euery one should make choise of that which seemed best vnto him. These men reduced the Mahumetan doctrine into sixe books, setting downe the penaltie of losse of life, to them that should otherwise speake, or write of the law. But because the Arabians gaue their mindes to Philosophie, in the vniuersities of Bagdet, Fez, Maroco, and Cordoua (and being of piercing and subtile wits) they could not but looke into the fopperies of their sect. There was added vnto this another prouiso, which was a statute, that forbad them the studie of Philosophie: by meanes of which statute, their Vniuersities before most flourishing, haue within these foure hundred yeeres daily declined. At this day the sects of Mahumetan impietie are distinguished more through the might and power of those nations that follow them, then of themselves: and the principall nations are fouer, that is to say, Arabians, Persians, Tartars, and Turks. The Arabians are most superstitious, and zealous. The Persians stand more vpon reason and nature: the Tartars hold much gentilisme and simplicitie: and the Turkes (especially in Europe) are most of them Libertines, and Martialistes.

The Arabians, as they that esteeme it for great glorie, that Mahumet was of their nation, and buried in Mecca (or as others thinke in Medina Talnabi) haue laboured with all arte, and yet procure to spread their sect ouer the whole world. In India they first prevauled with preaching, and afterwards with armes. Considering that seuen hundred yeeres sitheence (king Perimal reigning in Malabar) they began there to sow this cockle: and to bring the Gentiles more easily within their net, they tooke (and at this daie take) their daughters to wife, a matter greatly esteemed of them, by
reason of these men's wealth. By this policy and the trafficke of spices, which 
yielded them infinite profit, they quickly set foote, and fastened it in India. They 
built townes, and planted colonies, and the first place, where they grew to a bodie, 
was Calicut, which of a small thing, by their concourse and traffike, became a 
mightie citie. They drew king Perimal to their sect, who at their perswasion 
resolved to go and end his daies at Mecca; and for that purpose he put himselfe 
onward on the voyage, with certaine ships laden with pepper and other precious 
commodities: but a terrible tempest met him in the midst of his course, and 
drowned him in the sea. They inhabite in Malabar, where two sorts of Arabians or 
Moorees (as we may terme them) have more exceedingly increased and preuailed, 
then in any other part of the Indies: one is of strangers that arriue there by reason 
of the traffike of Arabia, Cambaia, and Persia: and the other be those that dayly 
are borne of a Moorish father, and a mother Gentile, or both of father and mother 
Moorees, and these (who are called Nateani, and differ from the other people, in 
person, custome, and habit) make as it were a fourth part of the inhabitants of 
that countrey. From Malabar, they went to the Maldiue, and Zeilan. Here they 
began to take upon them the managing of the customs and impositions of cities 
and townes; and by making them greater then in times past, they attained to the 
grace and favour of the Princes and Lords, together with great reputation and 
authority, yea preeminence and superiority over the common people: and 
favouring those who embraced their sect, daylie preached and divulged by the 
Papassi; but holding their hands heauie over such as shewed themselves 
repugnant, they incredibly advanced Mahumetisme. Afterwards perceiuing 
themselues strong and mightie, both in riches, and followers, they seized on the 
townes and cities. So that at this day, they command a good part of the 
Maldiume, and the ports of the most noble island of Zeilan, except that of 
Columbo where the Portugals have a fortesse. By like stratagem are they become 
masters of the west part of Sumatra, within little more then these two hundred 
yeeres, first preuailing by trade, and commerce, then by marriage and affinitie, 
and last of all by armes. From hence going forwarde, they have taken into their 
hands the greatest part of the ports of that large Archipelage of the Lu~ones, 
Malucos, Iauas, &c. They are Lords of the citie of Sunda, in the greater Iaua, they 
enjoy the greatest part of the Islands of Banda, and Maluco; they reign in Burneo, 
& Gilolo. They came once as far as Lu~on, a most noble Iland, and one of the 
Philippinas, & had planted therein three colonies. On the other side, they 
conquered upon the firme land, first the rich kingdome of Cambaia, & there 
established their sect, as they did the like, in all the places adjoinging: from hence 
they went to Bengala, and became Lords thereof. They cut off by little and little, 
from the crowne of Siam, the state of Malaca, (which the Portugals holde at this 
day) as likewise those of Ior, and Pam; and more then two hundred leagues along 
the coast. Finallie they are entred into the most ample kingdome of China, and 
haue built Moscheas in the same; and if the Portugals in India and the Malucos, 
and afterwards the Spaniards in the Philippinas had not met them on the way, and
with the gospell and armes, interrupted their course, they would at this instant haue possessed infinite kingdomes of the east: yea in this they are so industrious and bould, to our confusion, that euen the Arabian mariners, that go in the Portugall ships will tarrie behind in the Gentile-townes, there to publish their sect; 1O12

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and in the yeere 1555. one of these men had passed euens as far as Iapone, for this purpose; so that if the Portugals had not remedied it in due time, he would peradventure haue wrought there some alteration. The Persian nation, as touching their sect, a little before our time, haue beene made renowned among those barbarous people, by the valor and armes of Ismael, called the Sophi. This man accounting himselfe to be of the race and blood of Alle, brought his owne sect into credit and reputation, and waged warre against those borderers, who would not accept of it. He wore a redde Turbant, with twelue points or corners, in memoriall of the twelue sonnes of Ocen, the sonne of Alle, willing that all his followers should weare the like; and many people came in vnto him, and in a maner all those nations which inhabite betweene the riuers Euphrates and Abianus, and between the Caspian sea & the Persian gulphe. Tammas his sonne sent the said twelue-cornered Turbant to the Mahumetan Princes of Malabar and Decan, persuading them to receiue it with his sect, and bestowing the title of a king, on whomesoeuer would accept of it, but no others receiued it, saue Nizzamaluco. It is a common voice and opinion, that the greatest part of the Mahumetans of Syria and the lesser Asia follow and affect inwardly the sect of All, and of the Persians; the which the Turkes perceiuing in the vproare of Techelle, made a mightie slaughter of them, carrying the kinsemen of the slaine, and those suspected, out of Asia into Europe.

But now let vs passe to the Tartars. These (*as other- G.B. B. .
"I. part. i. lib.
whiles we declared) descended of the ten tribes of Israel, 2. 'de' Asia. being transported by the order and commission of Salmanazar, king of the Assirians, beyond India, into the land ofArsareth. Here degenerating into rude and barbarous customes, and forgetting in a greate part, or altogether, the Moysaicall ceremonies, they hardly reteined circumcision.

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With this frier Ascelline was sent Ohannes de Plano Carpini, whose voia e is put downe in the first volume of the English voiages.
They came out of this their banishment, in the yeere of our Lord I2oo. and in a small time, with the ruine of infinite nations, made themselues terrible to all the east, and no lesse to the north. Pope Innocent the fourth, being amazed at the horrible storme, that hung ouer the head of Christendome (for they had spread themselues like locusts euens to the bankes of Danubius) sent from the councell of Lyons, Fryer Ascellino, of the order of Dominicus, with other Fryers, to the great CAN in the yeere 1246. to exhort him to embrace the name and faith of Christ;
or at least to let the Christians alone in peace. Of baptism he accepted not, but
promised a league with the Christians, for five years. Others notwithstanding
will needs have it, that he was converted, and that taking up arms in favour of
the Christians, he caused Mustaceno the Califa of Baldach, to dye with famine,
amidst the treasures heaped up by him. But afterwards either he, or his successor,
together with his people, denying their Christianity, became Mahumetans in
religion. And sithence that time, the Tartarian name and fame growing obscure,
that of the Turkes began to flourish. The Tartars Petegorski notwithstanding
the mountaines of Cumania, remained firme in the Christian faith, but yet
corrupted with the errors of the Greekes and Moscouites. The Colmugi near the
Caspian sea, continued in Paganisme, who are termed Capigliati, because they
shaue not off their hayres, as the other Tartars do. The Kirgessi also be Idolators,
as otherwhiles we declared. The other Tartars that are come on this side of Imaus,
hau all, from one to an other, embraced Mahumetisme. And amongst others the
Zagatai, who through the emulation they haue with the Persians (vpon whome
they border and contend for Empire) as concerning sect, follow the opinion of the
Turkes, as also the Mogores their descendents, who in these our dayes haue
enlarged their Empire, betweene mount Caucasus and the Ocean,
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and between Ganges, and Indus. But the Tartars of Cataya, resident beyond
Imaus, and vpon the desert called Lop, remaine generallie in Idolatry, although
their continue many Christians amongst them, of the sect of Nestorius, neither
want there some Mahumetans. Now let us come to the Turkes, who in largenes of
Empire, are superior to the other sects. Of these, part inhabite in Asia, part in
Europe. Those of Asia incline much to the opinion of the Persians, and especially
they that inhabite in Natolia, and the borders. But those of Europe are generally
lesse superstitious then the Asians, and by reason of their daily conversacion with
Christians, they haue a deeper opinion and conceit of Christ then the others, yea,
and many of them hold him for God, and Redeemer. And it is not long sithence
there were diuers put to death in Constantinople with speciall constancie on their
part: and it was thought that many of the grand Signors court held the same
opinion. The Turkes,
especially those of Europe, are of two sorts: for some are naturall Turkes, others
accessorie, or accidentall. Naturall Iterme them, that are borne of Turkish parents:
and them I call accidental, who leauing our sacred faith, or the Moysaicall law,
become Mahumetans: the which the Christians performe by circumcising
themselves, and the Iewes by lifting vp a finger. Now the Christians become
Turkes, partly vpon some extreme & violent passion. Cherskogli (who afterwards
was great with Bazaieth) turned Turke to bee reuenged of his father, who tooke
from him his wife, amidst the solemnity of the marriage. Viuccial denied the
faith to be reu-ged of a slaue, his companion in the gallie, who called him scald
pate. Some abjure the faith to release themselves of torments and cruelties; others
for hope of honors and temporall greatnes: and of these two sorts there are a great
number in Constantinople, being: thought to be Christians in hart: and yet through
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slothfulness, or first to gather together more wealth, or expecting opportunity to carry with them, their wives and children, or for fear of being discovered in their departure and voyage, or else through sensualitie, and for that they would not be deprived of the licentiousnes and libertie of the life they lead, resolute not to performe that they are bound unto; deferring thus to moneth to moneth, & from yeere to yeere, to leaue this Babylon & sinke of sin. But the greatest part of Renegados become Mahumetans without perceiving it. In that the grand Signor sendeth every four yeers, more or lesse, according as need requireth, to take through his States of Europe, of euery three christian male children one, at the discretion of his Commissaries, by way of tribute, and they take them from the age of ten, to the yeeres of seventene. These being brought to Constantinople, are without other ceremonies circumcised, and part of them are sent into Natolia and Caramania to learn the toong, religion and fashions of the Turkes : and part are employed about the service of the Seraglios, or palaces of Constantinople, Pera, and Andrinople. Here living among the Turkes, farre from their parents, separate from all conuersation with the faithfull, and deprived of all spirituall aide and helpe, without perceiving it, they are made Turkes. The author of this, the most diabolical institution that euer was made, was a certaine Turkish saint, called Abeuiras, in the daies of Amurath the second: and in the beginning the number was but three thousand, and afterwards they exceeded not twelve thousand, vntill the time of Amurath the third, who increased them to the number of four and twenty thousand. But returning to their education: after some time they are called home againe to the Seraglios of the Zamoglans (for so are they termed, till they be enrolled among the Janissaries) to Temaine there vnder their heads and governours: and in short time they became Janissaries, or Spahies, and either they go to the warre, or are bestowed in some garrison, or else are resident in the court of the Turke. They are called The sonnes of the grand Signor: they Hue with great license and libertie: they do whatsoever pleaseth themselves: neither can they be judged by any but the Agaes: during their Hues they are seldoom punished, and yet when it is done, it is with great secrecie : in buying they make their owne prizes. These snares are strong enough to procure, that they neuer care for returning any more to the bosome of the church. But that which is woest of all: euery new Prince bestoweth on them a great larges, and augmenteth their pay, at the Christians charge. They also kill and robbe whomsoever they please, especially the Christians throughout the whole countrie, or in marching to the warre, and the Christians dare not so much as in a word finde themselves agreed upon there growtheth in them such a scorne and contempt of the Christian name, that they remaine strangers to it. That which I haue said of young male children taken from
out their mothers bosomes, who without perceiving it become Mahumetanes, hapneth in like manner vnto them, whom the pirates by sea, or soldiers by land, make slaues, presenting them to the grand Signor. Besides the foresaid deuises, the Turkes further spread abroad their sect with all kind of vantage and furtherance. For they abase and bring to extreme miserie the Christians and Moores their subjects, not permitting them to ride, nor beare any kinde of armes, nor to exercise any maner of iustice, or gouernment. They make it lawfull to take Christian women that are not married. If the wife of a Christian turneth Turke, and marrieth herselfe with a Turke, their law permitteth, that the Christian husband by turning Turke may take her againe. They forbid the Christians to repaire their ruinate Churches, and suffer them in no wise to reedifie them fallen downe, without great bribes; and so the Christians through

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poouertie let them come to ruine: by meanes whereof the publike worship of God faileth, and in progresse of time also, the very Christian faith and beleefe. In Asia they will not permit the Greekes the use of their language, but onely in sacred administrations, to the end that together with their language, they may also loose and forget their Christian fashions and customes. The Spahi being Lords for terme of life, of infinite villages, take such young men into their seruitude, as best pleaseth them; who in processe of time, by c6uersation with their maisters, and the fauours they hope after, and by the wicked fashions and customes which they learne, as also through the sinnes and vices, wherein they are drowned, do become Turkes. And the Greekes children, after the example of their companions, being thus fauoured and made much of, incline in such a sort vnto this euill, that upon euery light occasion, they threaten their fathers and mothers to turne Turkes. Further it is forbidden the Mahumetanes to make restitution of any place, once taken with armes, and wherein they haue built a Moschea. To conclude, they use all manner of circumstances, by meanes of which they may amplifie or enlarge their dominion and sect.

Of the Mahumetans of Africa in particular.

The Mahumetan impietie hath spred it selfe throughout Africa beyond measure: this pestilence entred into Egypt in the yeere of our Lord 637. by the armes of Omar. From whence a captaine of Odornan first passed into Africa in the yeere 650. with fower-score thousand fighting men, who there defeated Gregorius Patritius. But they perpetually cast out of Africk the Romaines with the people of Absimacus, and Leontius the emperour, in the yeere 699. and wholie impatronized themselues of Barbarie. They pierced into Numidia & Libya in the yeere 70. and ouerthrew the Azanaghi, and the people of Gualata, Oden, and

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Tombuto. The yeere afterwards 973. hauing passed Gambea, they infected the Negroes, and the first that drunke of their poison were those of Melli. In the yeere
Io67. Jaiaia the sonne of Abubequer entred into the lower Ethiopia, and by little and little subverted those people which confine vpon the deserts of Libya and Egypt, piercing euen to Nubia & Guinea. The Arabias haue augmented their sect in Africk, first with force of armes, by banishing of the naturall inhabitants, the which they might well do, by reason of their infinite multitude: and of them, that verse of David may well be vnderstood: In circuitu impj ambulant: secundum altitudinem tuam, multiplicasti filios Iominum, &c. The wicked walke round about; according to thy greatnes, thou hast multiplied the sonnes of men. Where they could not come, nor give no blow with armes; there they haue ingraffed themselues, by preaching and traffike. The heresie of Arrius furthered their enterprize, wherewith the Vandales and Gothes being then inhabiteres of Africa were infected. To further their designments they brought in the Arabicke language and letters. They founded Universities and Studies, both for riches of reuenum, and magnificence of building most notable, especially in Maroco, and Fez. But there is nothing that hath greateuer furthered the progression of the Mahumetan sect, then perpetuitie of victorie, & the greatnes of conquests, first of the Califes in the east, & afterwards of the Miramolines in Africk: In that the greatest part of men, yea, and in a manner all, except such as haue fastned their confidence vpon the crosse of Christ, and setled their hope in eternity, follow that which best agreeith with sense, and measure the grace of God by worldly prosperitie. And yet Christ (as Justinus the Philosopher, and glorious martyr testifieth) promised no earthly reward to good works. Carnal men therefore perceiuing the empire of the Califes and Mahumetans continually to encrease in the east and west, taking into their hands both sea and land, (for this their felicitie in armes continued three hundred yeeres, wherein they conquered all that which lieth betweene the riuer Abianus and the Atlantike Ocean, and subdued Spaine, Sicilia, and a part of Italie and France) and judging that temporall prosperitie and victories were the effects and fruits, or at least the arguments and signes of the grace and fauour of God, they easily fell into Apostasie, whereunto the impietie of Arrius and other heretikes opened the way, who for long tract of time estranging themselues more and more from the Evangelicall truth, fell in the end into Atheisme: as we see hath fallen out in the course of some moderne enormities. But to returne from whence we haue digressed; in progress of time there grew great differences betweene the Mahumetans: for their sect being no lesse sottish and foolish, then wicked and perfidious, the mainteiners of it were druen to fetch reasons farre off for defence of the same. But the Arabians not contented in Africa to haue subiugated with armes, and with false doctrine to haue pestered Barbarie, Numidia, Libya, and the countrey of Negroes, they further on the other side assailed the lower Ethiopia, both by sea and land. By lande entred thereinto in the yeere IO67. Jaiaia the sonne of Abubequer, and by meanes of certaine Alfachi, he dispersed that pestilence into Nubia, and the neighbour prouinces. On the other side passing the Red sea, they first tooke knowledge of the coast of Ethiopia, euen to Cabo de los corrientes, by their continuall traffike thither: and afterwards being

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encouraged by the weakenes of the naturall inhabitants, they erected the
kingdomes of Magadazo, Melinde, Mombazza, Quiloa, Mozambique, and seazed
on some ports of the island of Saint Laurence: and gathering force by little and
little, they enlarged their empire within the land, and established therein the
kingdomes of Dangali and Adel. So that on the one side they haue spred their

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sect, from the Red sea to the Atlantike Ocean, and from the Mediterra nean sea to the
riuer Niger, and farther: and on the other, haue taken into their hands all the
easterne coast of Africk, from Suez to Cape Guardaffi, and from this, even to that
De los corrientes, and the adioining islands. In which places though the people be
not altogether Mahumetans, yet haue the Mahumetans the weapons & dominion in
their hands ; the which how much it importeth for the bringing in of sects, we may
easily conceieue. To conclude, they haue often assailed the Prete Janni; sometimes
the Turkcs, who haue taken from him the ports of the Red sea ; and otherwhiles
the Moores, vnder the conduct of the king of Adel, who hath, and doth molest
them greatly, leading into captiuitie a great number of Abassins, where they
become for the most part Mahumetans.

Of the Christians of Africa.
Now that we haue declared the miseries and darknes of
Affrick, it remaineth that we set downe that little light of true religion which there
is ; the which I can not passe ouer, without exceeding glorie to the Portugall
nation. In that they with inestimable charge, and infinite trauaile, haue first sought
to open the way to Ethiopia, and to bring the great Negus of Abassia, called by vs
Prete Ianni, to the vnion of the christian church of Europe, performing
whatsoever, after this, for the conversation of the princes of Guinia and Meleghette
to the faith, and yet more happily of the king of Congo and the Princes of
Angola; and likewise with divers colonies sent to the islands of the Atlantick
Ocean, they haue no lesse adu~ced the honor of their owne nation, then the
propagating of the christian faith. And finally, passing beyond Cabo de buena
esperan~a, they haue resisted the Mahumetan sect, which had now extended it
selfe on the backside of Africa, as far as Cabo de los corrientes.

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Of the Christians in Egypt.
The Christians of Egypt are partly strangers, partlie
home-borne in the country; strangers come thither in regarde of traffick which
there flourisheth aboue measure, especiallie in the cities of Alexandria and Cairo;
by reason that this kingdome being most commodiously situate between the Red
and Mediterran seas, vniteth the west parts of the world with the east, by meane of
an infinite traffick ; and therefore is it as it were a ladder, whereby the wealth of
India and of the Eoan Ocean, passeth into the lesser Asia, into Africke, and
Europe. Whereupon not onely the Venetians, Florentines, and Ragusians come
thither in great numbers; but also the French, and English. The naturall Christians
of Egypt, remaining after the spoiles and hauock of the Barbarians and the crueltie of the Saracens, Mamalucks, and Turkes, exceed not the number of fiftie thousand persons, and these dwell dispersed here and there, but principallie in the cities of Cairo, Messia, Monfalatto, Bucco, and Elchiasa, all placed vpon the bankes of Nilus. There are also many in the province of Minia, in which quarter appeare diuers monasteries. But among the monasteries of Egypt those of Saint Anthonie, Saint Paul, and Saint Macarius are the principal. The first lieth in Troglodytica right ouer against Sait vpon a hill, where Saint Anthony was said to be beaten by diuels: the second is seated not far from this, in the middest of a desert: the third standeth in the wildernes, to the west of Bulac. This is the monasterie which in some histories is called Nitria, as I thinke, bicause in that quarter the waters of Nilus, being thickned by the heate of the sun in low places, are conuerted into salt and niter. Georgia stood vpon Nilus, six miles from the city of Munsia, a rich and magnificent Conuent, so called after the name of Saint George. There were in the same more then two hundred

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monkes, to the notable benefite and ease of pilgrimes & strangers, who were there curteously lodged. But they dying all of the plague, (about some hundred and fiftie yeeres sithence,) the place was abandoned.

Now to deliuer somewhat concerning the estates of these 'Christians: They are called by some *Cofi, and by others, * Or Coptitce. Christians from the girdle vpward: for albeit they be baptized, as we are, yet do they circumcise themselues like to the Iewes: so as a man may say, their Christianitie comes no lower then the girdle-stead. But that which is worse, they haue for these IOOO. yeers followed the heresie of Eutiches, which alloweth but of one nature in Christ: by which heresie they also separate and dismember themselves, from the vnion of the Church of Europe. The occasion of this separation and schisme, was the Ephesine councell, assembled by Dioscorus in defence of Eutiches, who was now condemned in the Calcedon councell by sixe hundred and thirtie fathers congregated togither, by the authoritie of Leo the first. For the Cofite fearing, that to attribute two natures vnto Christ, might be all one, as if they had assigned him two hypostases or persons, to avoid the heresie of the Nestorians, they became Eutichians. They say their diuine seruice in the Chaldean toong, oftentimes repeating Alleluia. They read the Gospell first in Chaldean, and then in Arabick. When the priest saith Pax vobis, the youngest amongst them laieth his hand vpon all the people that are present. After consecration, they giue a simple peecce of bread to the standers by: a ceremonie vsed also in Greece. They exercise their function in the church of Saint Marke amidst the ruines of Alexandria, and in that of Suez, vpon the red sea: they obey the Patriarke of Alexandria, and affirme themselues to be of the faith of Prete Zanni. In our daies two Popes haue attempted to reduce them to the vnion of the Romish church: Pius the fourth, and Gregorie the thirteenth.

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Pius the fourth in the yeere 1563. sent two Jesuit-priests for this purpose to Cairo; who staid there almost a yeere, but to no purpose, and with great danger of life: for one of them was appointed to the fire, from which he escaped by means of a merchant; who with eight hundred crownes pacified the Turkes, and caused the priest sodainly to flie away. But Pope Gregorie entred into this enterprise with more hope: for Paulo Mariani a famous Christian merchant, was at the same time in Cairo, who for his wisdome, magnificence, knowledge of tongues, and long practise in the affaires of the world, joined with wonderfull eloquence, and presence of bodie, was in great esteeme and reputation, not onely among the Christians, but also with the Turkes, who equally loued him for his liberalitie, and honored him for his valour. This man had conference with the Patriarke of Alexandria about the reconciling of his people to the Romish church: whereunto the Patriarke not shewing himselfe difficult, or hard to be entreated, was contented to call by his letters into those parts, two priests of the same order, who were then with the Maronites in mount Libanus. In the meantime the Pope, who was advizd of all this busines, taking the matter quickly in hand, wrote vnto the two priests, appointing one of them to go directlie to Cairo; and the other to returne back to Rome. Wherefore in the yeere 1582 in the moneth of October one of the said priests arriuing at Cairo, was courteouslie receiued by Mariani, and afterwards conducted to the Patriarke, who also made shew of great ioy and consolation. One might likewise perceiue a reasonable disposition in others who had any authority among the Cotti. He advizd the Pope of all; who sent a certaine other priest, with one breefe to the Patriarke, and an other to the Iesuites, wherein he exhorted them to go forward, and to bring the vnion, whereof so assured hope was conceiued, to good effect. The Patriarke receiued the breefe 1024

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with great reuerence, he kissed it, and according to their custome, laid it vpon his head, and afterwards demanded what it comprehended: the which with great feeling, and contentment having understood, within fewe daies he instituted a Synod of some bishops, and certaine other principall persons of the nation. Heere the said priests hauing declared vnto them vpon how little ground they, who at the first receiued the faith from Saint Marke, were sequestred from the western church by the authoritie of one heretike, tooke much paines afterward in making them capable of the difference that is betweene a nature and an Hypostasis or person, to their exceeding great admiration, because they were in a manner destitute of all learning. For the Patriarke euen from his youth had led his life in the monasterie of Saint Macarius, farre not onely from the studies of learning, but also from the conversacion of men, neither appeered there any greater knowledge in the bishops. They had scarcely any booke of the ancient fathers, and yet those they had, were all dustie, and eaten with mothes: That whereof they made chiefest account, was an old volume, being tume and rent, which they called The confession of the Fathers, full of diuers dreames and fables, whereof notwithstanding, and of some other Arabicke bookes, the priests made speciall
good use, for the conuincing of them in their errors. Also hauing framed a
compendium of most necessarie doctrine, they caused diuers copies of the same to
be drawne, and gaue them to the learned of the Cofti, to be considered of, who
wondering at the strangenes of the things propounded vnto them, and not knowing
how to answer the arguments of the priestes, demaunded time to search their
owne writings, and to see what opinion their predecessors had held as concerning
that point. In the meane while, they came often to the priestes, and inquired of
them the doctrine and forme of speech vsed in the Romish church. Whereupon
they

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shewed them how greatly the same church had euer detested heresies: and how
scurely it had condemned the impietie of Nestorius, and contrariwise highly
esteemed the authoritie of Cyrillus Alexandrinus, and the decrees of the first
Ephesine Council. Neither (because it confesseth two natures in Christ, joine in
one person without confusion) doth it therefore inferre two hypostasis or persons.
In that a nature and a person are not the selfe same things. The which may
cleerely be vnderstode by the deepe mysterie of the holy Trinitie, wherein we
acknowledge one nature, and three Hypostasis or persons. We auer therfore, that
there are two natures in Christ, one diuine, which he hath eternally from his
Father, the other humane, which he tooke temporally from the immaculate wombe
of his mother; both of them Joined in one hypostasis or person. By these and other
like demonstrations, they cleered the vnderstandings, and confirmed the mindes of
the Cofti. Howbeit, all this notwithstanding, the Synod being againe assembled
(wherein were present, the Patriarke, flue bishops, diuers abbots of monasteries,
and thirtie other principall persons) they plainly answered the priests that they had
turned ouer their Annales & writings, & were resolued in no wise to depart from
the doctrine and faith of their predecessors. This vnlooked-for answer, though it
greatly troubled and displeased the priests, yet were they determined still to
continue, and to proceed further in the enterprise. Whereupon declaring vnto them
againe, how farre they were by Dioscorus meanes estranged from the doctrine
taught in the Nicen, Constantinopolitan, and first Ephesine counsels, grounded on
the authoritie of holy Scripture, and the ancient Fathers: and that to disallow of
two natures in Christ, was no other but to denie that he was neither true God nor
man, (a matter abominable, not only to their eares, but euen to their very
vnderstadings) they preuailed so much, as that the matter was yet deferred

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off to an other moneth. Being therefore congregated the third time, it seemed that
God himselfe furthered this affaire more then usuaily: for first with common
consent they abrogated the law of circumcision, and withall after a disputation of
sixe howers continuance, it was decreed, that as concerning the truth of this point,
the priests were to be beleued, that there were two natures in Christ, and that the
Cofti though they auoided the name and title of two natures, yet denied they not,
but that Christ was true man, and true God. Onely they were warie of the two
natures, for feare of falling by little & litle into two hypostases. Thus this busines
being brought to so good a passe, was by the ambition and obstinacie of one man
utterly crossed and hindred. This was the Vicar or Suffragan to the Patriarke, who
aspiring himselfe to the Patriarkship, and seeing that if he followed this vnion
begun with the Romaine church, he could not attaine to that dignitie, but by the
Popes authoritie, (which he altogether misdoubted) he first made the decree of two
natures to be deferred, commanding afterwards that none should subscribe
thereunto, and finally caused the Patriarke whole to giue owuer this busines, and to
retire himselfe into the wildernes ; whereas he continued for certaine months.
Afterwards the priests vnderstanding where he was, wrot vnto him a letter,
signifying therein, what a special desire they had to see him, and what domage the
retiring of himselfe would procure to the silly sheepe recommende vnto him by
God, if he ratified not fully those things which were decreed vpon in the last
assemble. He curteously answered, making shew, that he would returne, when he
had visited his dioces, and in the meane while they should expect him at Cairo.
But while he thought vpon returne, his owne death interrupted him. The Cofti
haue a law, or custome, that betweene the death of one Patriarke and the creation
of an other, there must be in a maner an whole yeeres space, for so long it is

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requisite, say they, that the church should bewaile the death of her spouse.
Whereupon the priests, not to loose so much time, determined to go home into
Italy, to acquaint the Pope with the successe of all things, and afterwards (nee
so requiring) to returne. The Cofti vnderstanding thus much, writ letters to the
Pope, wherein they partly thanked him for the care he had of them ; & partly
lamented, that their rec6ciliation with the Romish church was not fully confirmed
and finished. While the priests were about to depart on Saint Mathewes day in the
morning, there came a route of armed Turkes to their lodging. These layde hands
suddenly on two priests, and another companion of theirs, and on three Fryers of
the order of Saint Francis, lodged in the same house. No man knew the reason of
this hurly burly, but for as much as could be learned, all this grew through the
enui of a Frenchman. This man aspiring to the degree of Consull or Gouernor
ouer his nation, which Mariani had obtayned, maliciously gaue the Bassa of Cairo
tnderstad, that Jlariani suborned the people against the grad Signor, & that he
had order from the K. of Spaine to leue Christian men. And that to this end he
kept in his house certaine priests, who practised in this behalf with Mariani for the
king. There was nothing that more prejudiced the priests, then the Cofties letters,
which bred a vehement suspition in the Turkes, that such an vnion might be
concluded with the Roman Church, as might worke some extraordinarie
innouation. They were therefore cast into a filthie and stinking prison. The
Venetian Consull assayed first by word of mouth, and after by suite and
supplication, to asswage the furie and anger of the Bassa; Howbeit he receiued
such bitter and nipping answeres, that he himselfe was also afraid. But nothing
preuaileth further with the Turkes then money. For it seemeth that with this onely
their saavage furie is mitigated, and their fiercenes appeased.
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Fiue thousand crownes therefore were disbursed for the priests libertie, wherein
the Cofti shewed themselues verie friendly, the richest of them offering one after
another to lend money without any interest for the same. But this matter cost
Mariani more then ten thousand crownes ; and besides that, he was depriued of
his degree of Consulship. The priests being thus freed out of prison, and
observing how things went, returned one after another backe to Rome.

A relation touching the state of
Christian Religion in the dominions of
Prete Ianni, taken out of an oration of Matthew
Dresserus, professour of the Greeke andLatine loongs, and of Hislories, in the
Vniersihie of Lisfa.
Who hauing first made a generall exordium to his
auditorie, proceedeth at length to the peculiar handling of the foresaid argument,
in manner following.
Ondum (saith hee) vnius seculi wtas exacta est, &c. The space of one hundred
yeeres is not as yet fullie expired, since the fame of the Ethiopians religion came
first vnto our
- eares. Which, because it is in many points agreeable vnto Christian veritie, and
carrieth an honest shew of pietie therewith, is to be esteemed as a matter most
worthie of our knowledge. Of this therefore, so far forth as the short time of an
oration will permit, I purpose to intreate; to the end it may appeare, both where,
and what manner of Christian church that of Ethiopia is, and what were the first
beginnings
thereof.
As the church This Ethiopian, not vnfitly called *The southerne church, in all the
hither parts of is situate in Africa far south, namely vnder the Torrid Europe hath
beene called the Zone, betweene the Tropique of Cancer and the Equiwestern, and
that of Greece noctial; some part thereof also stretching beyond the and Asia, the
easterne Equinoctial, towards the Tropique of Capricorne. Two church.
summers they haue euery yeere, yea in a manner, one

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continual summer: so that at the very same time in some fields they sowe, and in
others they reap. Somewhere also they haue euery moneth ripe, some kinde of
earthlie fruits or other, especiallie pulse. The people are skorched with the heate
of the sun, and they are black, and go naked" saue onely that some couer their
pruietes with cloth of cotton or of silke. The countrie is very great, and containeth
well nie twentie kingdomes ; * so that it is almost * Whatsoeuer
D~ressertus
as large as Europe, or as all Christendome in these parts. thinketh; yet diuers other
At the beginning indeed it had not aboue two kingdoms; authors of good note do hold the
but in processe of time it was mightily enlarged by the donzinions of Prete lanni
to conquest of countries adiacent. For it is environed on all be nothin so sides by
unbeleeuing gentiles and Mahumetans, who are large. most deadlie enimies to the
Christian religion; with whome the emperour of Ethiopia is at continuall wars,
endeouering by all possible meanes to reclaime them from their heathenish
Idolatry to the faith of lesus Christ. It is reported that certaine bordering *Mores
beare such im- * These Mores tire called
placable hatred against these Christians, that none of them Dobas. may marry,
before he bringeth testimony, that he hath slaine tuelue of them.
The Emperour of Ethiopia is not called (as some imagine) Presbiter or priest; but
Pretious Iohn. For in the
Ethiopian toung he is termed Belul Gian, and in the Chaldean, Encoe Gian, both
which additions signifie pretious or high; so that in a maner he commeth neer
unto the titles of our princes, who are called Illustres, Excelsi, Serenissimi, &c. to
signifie, that they are exalted and advancedd aboue other people. And this is a
common name to all the christian kings of Ethiopia; as Pharao was to the
Egyptian kings, and Augustus, to the Roman emperours. Neither is this
Pretious John a priest by profession, but a ciuil magistrate; nor is he armed so
much with religion and lawes, as with military forces.
Howbeit he calleth himselfe The piller of faith; because
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he is the maintainer of the Christian faith, not onely enioining his owne subiects
to the obseruation thereof; but (what in him lyeth) enforcing his enimies also to
embrace it.
In times past Ethiopia was gouerned by Queenes onely. Whereupon we reade in
the history of the old testament, that the Queene of the south came to King
Saloman from Saba, to heare his admirable wisdome, about the yeere of the world
2954. The name of this Queen (as the Ethiopians report) was Maqueda, who from
the head-city of Ethiopia called Saba (which like an Isle, is environed on all sides
by the riuer Nilus) trauelled by Egypt and the Red sea to Ierusalem. And she
brought vnto Salomon an hundred & twenty talents of gold, which amount to
720000. golden ducates of Hungarie, that is, seuen tunnes of gold, and 20000
Hungarian ducates besides. This mightie sum of gold, with other things of great
value, she presented vnto Salomon, who likewise requited her with most princelly
giftes. She contended with him also in propounding of sage questiones, & obscure
riddles. Amongst other matters (as it’ is reported by Cedrenus) she brought before
him certaine damosels, and yoong men in maides attire, asking the king, how he
could discerne one sexe from another. He answered, that he would finde them out
by the washing of their faces. And foorthwith he commanded all their faces to be
washed, and they which washed themselues strongly, were found to be males; but
the residue by their tender washing bewraied themselves to be damosels.
The Ethiopian kings suppose, that they are descended from the lineage of David, and from the family of Solomon. And therefore they use to term themselves the sons of David, and of Solomon, and of the holy patriarchs also, as being sprung from their progeny. For Queen Maqueda (say they) had a son by Solomon, whom they named Meilech. But afterward he was called David. This

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Meilech (as they report) being grown to twenty yeers of age, was sent backe by his mother unto his father and instructor Solomon, that he might learne of him, wisedome and understanding. Which so soone as the said Meilecli or David had attained: by the permission of Solomon, taking with him many priests and nobles, out of all the twelve tribes, he returned to his kingdom of Ethiopia, and tooke vpon him the gouernment thereof. As likewise he carried home with him the law of God, and the rite of circumcision.

These were the beginnings of the Jewish religion in Ethiopia. And it is reported, that euen till this present none are admitted into any ministry or canonship in the court, but such as are descended of their race that came first out of Jury. By these therefore the doctrine of God in Ethiopia was first planted, which afterward tooke such deepe root, as it hath since remained to all succeeding ages. For the Ethiopians did both retaine the booke of the Prophets, and trauailed also to Jerusalem, that they might there worship the true God revealeth in the kingdom of Israel. Which manifestly appeereth out of the Historie Acts 01 tte Apost. cap. 8. of the Ethiopian Eunuch, whose name was Indich, which verse 26. was a principall gouernour under Queene Candaces, properly called Judith. For he about the tenth yeere after the death and resurrection of our blessed Sauiour, trauailed for the space of two hundred and fortie miles, to Jerusalem. Where having performed due worship vnto God, returning homeward, as he sate in his chariot, he read the prophet Esaia. And by the commandement of the holy Spirit, Philip one of Christ his disciples was sent vnto him. And when they were both come to the citie Bethzur, three miles distant from Jerusalem; the Eunuch at the foote of a mountaine espied a certaine water, wherein he was baptized by Philip. And being returned into Ethiopia, this Eunuch baptized the Queene, and a great part of her 3U

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family and people. From which time the Ethiopians began to be Christians, who since that hauc continually professed the Christian faith. They beleue also that Philip sent into Ethiopia a disciple of his called Lycanon, who (as they suppose) ordained the verie forme of religion which they now holde. Now these beginnings aswel of the Jewish as the christian religion among the Ethiopians being thus declared: we are next to intreat of the doctrine & religion it selfe, together with the rites & ceremonies vsed at this present in the Ethiopicke church, so far forth as we can gather out of the ambassages which haue bin performed from these parts thither, & backe againe. Besides which there is no
historie nor discourse of any worth to be found, which entreateth of the religion, maners, and customes of the Ethiopians. So as it is a matter very strange, that for so many hundred yeeres together, Ethiopia was so barred from our knowledge, that we had not so much as any report thereof. Vntil about the yeere of our Lord 1440, certaine ambassadours sent from thence to Pope Eugenius, returned backe with his letters, and Papall benediction to their king. Which letters are most charity kept among the records of this Ethiopian king, and are preserued for perpetuall monuments.

From which time also, as though Ethiopia had beene againe quite debarrd from the knowledge and conuersation of our men, there were not any Europeans that went into Ethiopia, till the yeere of our Lord 1486. what time John the second king of Portugall sent Pedro de Couilham, and Alonfo de Paiua, to search out Ethiopia. This Pedro was a man very learned, eloquent, skillfull in sundrie languages, painfull in his endeuors, fortunate in his attempts, and most desirous to finde out new countries and people both by sea and land. He therefore in the yeere aboue mentioned, togethir with his companion Alonfo de

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Paiua, (who died in the voyaige) trauailed first to Alexandria and Cairo in Egypt: from whence in the companie of certaine Mores of Fez and Tremizen, he proceeded on to El Tor, an hauen towne vpon the Arabian shore of the Red sea, and thence to Aden, situate without the entrance of the Arabian gulfe. Where having embarqued himselfe in a ship of Mores, he trauailed to Calicut, Goa, and other places of the East Indies; and being fully informed of the state of the Spiceries, he crossed ouer the maine Ocean to ofala, sailed thence to Ormuz, and then returned backe to Cairo. From whence (having dispatched letters vnto his king) in the company of Rabbi loseph a Iew, he made a second voyaige to Ormuz; and in his returne he tooke his journey towards Ethiopia, the Emperour whereof at that time, was called Alexander. Vnto whom when he had deliuered a letter and a mappe of the world sent from king John, he was most kindly entertained, and rewarded with many rich gifts. And albeit he most earnestly desired to returne into his owne countrey, yet could he neuer obtaine leaue; but had wealth, honour, and a wife of a noble family bestowed vpon him, to asswage his desire of returning home. Wherefore in the yeere 1526. which was fortie yeeres after his departure out of Portugall, hee was left, by Rodrigo de Limta the Portugall ambassadour, still remaining in the court of Prete Iannz.

In all this meantime sundry Portugals came out of India to the court of the Prete, not so much to visite and salute him, as to declare the good will and kinde affection of their king towards him. Whereupon Queene Helena, which was then protectresse of the Ethiopian or Abassin empire, to requite the king of Portugal with like friendship; sent vnto him in the company of the foresaid Portugals an ambassador or messenger of hers, called Matthew, who was a merchant borne in Armenia, being a man skilfull in sundry languages and in many other matters.

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Matthew the Matthew she not onely furnished with letters requisite for first
ambassador sent from such an ambassage; but enjoined him also to declare by A
ethiopia to
Portugal word of mouth unto the king of Portugal the principal heads of their doctrine or beleefe, together with their rites and customes, and the
present state of the whole church of Ethiopia. Moreouer she presented him with a
little crosse made (as they suppose) of a piece of that very crosse, whereon our
saviour Christ was crucified; with many other tokens and pledges of mutuall
christian amity. Thus
Matthew being dismissed, tooke his journey to the east Indies; from whence he
was conducted by sea into
Portugal; where arriving in the yeere 1513, he did his message, according to
Queene Helenas directions, unto the
king Don Emanuel.
The king taking wonderfull delight at this message, and
at these guiftes which were sent him from a Christian prince
*This ambas- so far remote, not long after prepared a new *ambassage, sage was
at the
first vnder- with letters, and presents of exceeding value; in which taken by
Odoardo Galuano: ambassage the pietie and vertue of Francis Alvarez a who
dying at
the isle of Ca- Portugal priest extraordinarily appeered. For he remaining maran in the
Red sea, it was sixe whole yeeres in the court and countrie of Ethiopia, performed
by
Rodrigo de tooke there most diligent notice of all matters worthie the Lima.
observation. And he had often and familiar conference
not onely with the emperour himselfe, but also with the patriarch, concerning the
whole state of their religion, and of matters ecclesiasticall; as also he was a most
curious observer of all their rites and ceremonies. Who in the yeere of Christ
1526. being dismissed by Prete Janni, was accompanied into Portugall by
another Ethiopian or Zagazabo the A bassin ambassadour called Zagazabo, and
brought letters second ambassador sent from also to Pope Clement the seuenth,
with a golden crosse of A Ethiopia to
Portugall. a pound weight. It seemeth likewise that the said ambassadour of Prete
fanni was a very honest, upright, and godly man, who by reason of their
continuall warres was
detained in Portugall till the yeere of our Lord 1539.
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The letters of Prete fanni to the Pope, were by Francis Aluarez deliuered at
Bononia, in the yeere of Christ 1533. Where in the presence of Charles the
Emperour, and before a mightie assembly of people, they were read and approued with great joy and acclamation. Both which letters, as well to the Pope as to the king Don Emanuel, were full of Christian pietie and loue: wherein first that mightie Emperour (though therein he was deceiued) with singular reuerence and dutie, submitted himselfe vnto the Pope of Rome, as to the head of all the church; offering by the said Francis most humble obedience, after the manner of other Christian princes. As likewise he profered vnto them both, the offices of beneuolence, charity, and true friendship, intending to ioine a firme league of amitie with them, and * signifying that his dominions were free and open to all Christians, that would by sea or land frequent the same. Also he plainly seemed to detest the mutuall discords of Christians, exhorting them to bandy their forces against the Mahumetans, and promising his roiall assistance, and most earnest endeuour, for the vanquishing of Chrsits enimies, and their conversion to the truth. Lastly he required, that men of learning, and of skill in the holy Scriptures, as likewise diligent Printers, and all sorts of artificers might be sent him, to be emploied in the seruice of his church and common wealth. Signifying that he would not violently detaine any man in his dominions, but would dismisse him into his owne countrey, with honour, and liberall rewards. And that he might testifie his louing and kind affection to the king of Portugall, by a most woorthie monument, he sent him the crowne off his owne head, as the present of a dutifull sonne to his most deere father.

Wherefore by this most admirable diligence and industrie of the Portugals, Ethiopia in these last times hath beeouered and made knowne vnto vs.

Neither is there

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* Whereas the Zewes circumcised the males onely. any thing in the Ethiopians religion so hidden and vnreuealed, which hath not either beeoued out by Francis Aluarez, or most largely declared by Zagazabo the Ethiopian ambassadour. Out of the relations therefore of these two woorthy authors, as out of a fountaine, we will deriuue the whole substance of our speech. The ground of the Ethiopicke religion is the profession of one true God, and of his sonne Iesus Christ, which of all Christians is the peculiar and proper marke, whereby onely they are to be named Christians. Concerning this maine point the Ethiopians faith stands most firme and entire: for they togethier with vs do confess and adore one God and three persons of the deity, God the father, God the sonne begotten of his father from euerlasting, who for vs men was incarnate, died, and rose againe; and God the holy Ghost proceeding from the father and the sonne. In this article they follow the holy creed of the Apostles, and the Nicene creed. Saue that they hold that Christ descended into hell for his owne soule, and for the soule of Adam, which he receiued of the virgine Marie. For this opinion they do most stedfastly embrace; saying that it came by most ancient tradition from Christ himselfe to his Apostles.
The old testament they so conioine with the new, as they allow and receiue both Jewish & Christian ceremonies. Vpon the eight day after their birth, *they circumcise all children both male and female. And vnlesse sicknes vrgeth them to make the more haste, they defer the baptisme of their male children till they be fortie, and of their females, til they be eightie daies old. Circumcision (they say) they receiued from Queene Maqueda, which went to heare the wisdome of Salomon: and baptisme from Saint Phili5, and from the Eunuch which Philip baptized. Yet do they stedfastly hold, that not by circumcision, but by faith in Jesus Christ they attaine vnto true felicitie.

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Their baptisme they renewe euery yeere: for vpon the day of the three Sages, otherwise called Epiphanie, whereon Christ was baptised in Iordan, they meet in great assemblies, and enter naked into the water; where the priest layeth his hand vpon them, dippeth them thrise, and pronounceth the words of baptisme, saying, I baptise thee in the name of the father, the sonne, and the holy ghost; adding thereto the signe of the crosse. This custome receiued from their predecessors they doe most carefully obserue, not thereby to abase or extenuate their first baptisme; but that euery yeere they may receive a new absolution from their sinnes. Also vnto their infants vpon the verie day of their baptisme, they glue the bodie of our Lord, vnder a small morsell of bread. But such as are growen to yeeres of discretion before they come vnto the Lords holy supper, do make confession and receive absolution of all their sinnes from the priest. Then doe they all betimes in the morning both clergie and laytie receive the whole sacrament of the bodie and true blood of Iesus Christ in their churches. Which being receiued, they may not vnder paine of grieuous punishment, so much as once spit, till the going downe of the sunne.

Popish confirmation and vnction, they neither esteeme for sacraments nor vse them. The Pope of Rome, either in regard of errour and ignorance, or to win his fauour, they acknowledge to be head of the church, and doe pretend a kinde of obedience to the sea of Rome. Albeit that the Pope, before the Portugals discouerie of the east Indies could neuer communicate any assistance vnto them, *nor Yet in the yet since that time, by reason of the huge distance almost Pauie 4.

were sent cerof fifteene thousand miles. For so many miles the tainepriests with a new ambassadour, which was sent out of Portugall to Ethiopia, created Patriarke, and two said that he had trauailed. [It is nothing so longo a Journey Bishops:. who notwithstanding through Egypt, Trogloodytica, and Barnagasso, but that the ing when they went seriously way through those countries is stopthe abotto bin 1039

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in the Romish religion, and the supremacy of the Pope, were crossed by Emperor in all their proceedings.

Turkes.] Howbeit Queen Helena, and after her king David, seem to have sought and desired some conjunction with the Romish church, and the Christians of Europe: to the end that with their powers and forces united, they might assaile and vanquish the Mahometans, being most deadly enemies to the Christian name. Moreover these Ethiopic Christians do use to fast upon certain days of the week till sun set: as namely upon Wednesday, to renew the sadde memory of the Jews council, wherein they decreed to crucifie our Redeemer: and upon Friday, that they may with thankfull minds acknowledge his most bitter passion and death. Likewise the day of Good Friday, wherein our blessed Saviour was nailed to the cross, they celebrate with great devotion, especially towards the evening. Unto these they add a Lent of forty days, wherein they live only by bread and water. The feasts both of Christ, of the virgin Marie, and of certaine Saints, they keep holy: upon which days meeting in their churches three hours after sunne-rising, they read the books of the Prophets, and employ themselves in holy exercises. They sanctifie the Sabaoth in imitation of the Jews: and keep holy the Lords day according to the apostles institution. On both these days they worship God by performing things holy, and eschuing matters prophane. Into their churches they may not come but barefoot; neither is it lawful for any man to walk and downe, nor to talke of worldly affaires, nor to spit, nor cough.

The chief use of the law (they say) is to shew vs our sinnes: neither do they think any man living able to perform the same, but onely Jesus Christ who fulfilled it on our behalfe. The Saints they love indeed and reverence, but do not pray unto them. Unto the blessed virgin Marie the mother of Christ, they ascribe great honour, but neither do they adore her, nor crave assistance at her hands. They have every day one mass onely, and that a short one, in stead of a sacrifice: but gains thereby they make none at all. Neither do they elevate or holde vp the sacrament of the supper, as the masse-priests do: nor apply the same to redeeme dead mens soules from the paines of purgatorie. Howbeit, that there is a place of purgatorie, they do not deny. Wherefore their dead are buried with crosses and supplications, and especially with the rehearsall of the beginning of Saint John's Gospel. Then the day following they offer almes for them, and upon certaine daies after they add funeral-banquets; supposing that upon Sabaoths and the Lords daies, they which died godly, are freed from all torments in Purgatorio, and at length, having receiued the full measure of chastisement for their sinnes, that then they go into eternal rest. For the effecting whereof, they do not think any indulgencies of their patriarch, but onely the meere mercy and grace of God to be available.

Mariage is no lesse permitted to their clergie and priests, then to their laie-people: yet so, that his first wife being dead, a priest cannot marry another without the Patriarkes dispensation. Whosoever keepeth a concubine is debarred from all
sacred administrations. And whatsoever bishop or clergie-man is found to have a bastard, he is utterly deprived of holy orders, and of all his benefices and spiritual dignities. Marriages are often solemnized without the church, a bed being placed before the house of the bride and the bridegroom. Then come three priests, who going thrice about the bridegroom’s bed, sing with a loud voice Hallelujah, and other things. This done, they cut one lock of hair from the bridegroom’s head, and another from the head of the bride, which they wash in wine made of honey; and then putting upon either of their heads the other’s lock, they sprinkle them with a kind of holy-water, and so depart. Which being performed the marriage-feast beginneth, and holdeth on till the night be far spent. At length the bride and bridegroom are brought into their own house, out of which neither of them may go forth for the space of an whole moneth after. In some places they are married in the church by the patriarch himselfe. Where the marriage-bed standing in manner aforesaid, the patriarch with sweet incense and crosses walketh thrice about it, and then turning himselfe towards them, he layeth his hand upon the bridegroom’s head, saying: Do that which God hath commanded in his gospel, and think now that you are not two but one flesh. Hauing spoken these words, he administrith the communion vnto them, and blesseth them. Polygamy, or many wives at once, are permitted by the emperour and ciuill magistrate vnto the Ethiopians: but in their churches there is no place at all for such as have more wives then one. Neither may any such persons presume to enter into their churches, but are held as excommunicate, and are not receiued into the congregation, before having put away all the residue of their wives, they betake themselves to one onely. Divorcements they use very commonlie, and often vpon light occasions except onely the priests, who may by no meanes depart from their wives. Whereby it appeareth, that their priests approue not that inconstancie in a matter of so great moment. The best remedy which they haue to preuent this mischief, is at the daye of marriage to alotte some great penalty vpon that person which shall first forsake the other. Amongst them likewise, according to the law of Moses, brothers use to marry their brothers wives, to raise vp seede vnto them. Howbeit this abuse of marriage is not practised by all, but onely by the mightier sort. For the country-people and those of poorer condition, being euery one contented with his owne wife, do so painefullly employ themselves about their labour, and the getting of their living, that they are free from those violent passions of lust. Infants that die before baptism they name halfe christians, because being sanctified onely by the faith of Christian parents, they are not as yet by baptism thoroughly engraffed into the church. From meates, which the law of Moses accounted vnclene, they also do abstaine. The heresies of Arrius, Macedonius, and Nestorius, they reject and condemn. The whole church of Ethiopia is
governed by a patriarch called in the Ethiopick language Abuna, which signifieth, 
A Father. This patriarch of theirs is first solemnely created at Jerusalem by the 
voices of those monks which keepe the sepulchre of our Lord. Afterward hee is 
confirmed, and sent into Ethiopia by the patriarche of Alexandria, The emperor 
Prete lanni, so often as there is need of a new patriarch, sendeth an ambassage with 
many gifts to Jerusalem, and requireth a patriarch from thence. Which patriarke, 
together with a monke of the order of Saint Antony the Hermite, being come into 
Ethiopia, is according to an ancient custome, receiued with the generall consent, 
congratulation, applause, and reioycing of all degrees and estates of people. To 
this high function is singled out some one man of singular piety, grauity, learning, 
and of more ancient yeeres then the rest. His speciall duties are to giue holy 
orders, to administer churchdiscipline, and to excommunicate contumaces or 
obstinate offenders, which are for their stubbornnes famished to death. But the 
authoritie of giuing Bishopricks and spirituall benefices, the Emperour reserueth 
to himselfe. In Ethiopia there are infinit numbers of priests, and of monks. 
Francis Aluarez saw at one time ordained by the Patriarke two thousand three 
hundred fiftie sixe priests. And the like manner of ordaining or instalment they 
haue euery yeere twice. It seemeth that those which are chosen 

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into that order, are men destitute of learning and liberall artes. Vnto their 
priesthood none is admitted before he be full thirtie yeeres of age. It falleth out 
likewise, that during the vacation of the Patriarkship, the church hath great want 
of priests. Which vacation is oftentimes prolonged by reason of the continuall 
warres betwene the Christians and the bordering Mahumetans, and Gentiles: 
whereby all passage from Ethiopia to the monks of Jerusalem is quite cut off. 
Hence proceedeth great desolation in that church. But with monks all places in 
this Abassin empire do mightily swarme. These do not onely confine themselues 
in monasteries, wherof here are great numbers, but also take vpon them offices in 
the court, and intangle themselues in militarie affaires, and in buying and selling 
of merchandize. Neither are there anie kinde of people in those easterne parts 
more conuersant in trade of merchandize then priests and monkes. So that the old 
said sawe is most truelie verified: 
What ere the world doth put in vre, 
The .onke will intermeddle, sure. 
It is likewise to be noted, that the priests, monkes, and other ministers of the 
Ethiopian church, are not maintained by tithes and almes as they are in Europe. 
They haue onelie certaine fieldes and gardens, which must be manured by the 
monkes and clergie themselues. To beg ought of the common people they are in 
no wise permitted, vnlesse perhaps some man will of his owne accorde bestowe 
somewhat in their churches for the exequies of the dead, or for some other sacred 
veses. 
These Ethiopians haue a certaine booke, which they suppose to haue beene 
written by all the Apostles when they were assembled at Jerusalem. This booke in
their language they call Manda and Abelitis: and do beleue that all thinges therein contained are to be holden for

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gospel. In it, amongst other matters, are contained certaine penal statutes; as for example. If a priest be accused of Adultery, Man-slaughter, Robberie, or perieurie, he is to receive like punishment with other malefactors. Likewise, that aswell ecclesiasticall, as secular persons, are to abstaine from comming to church for the space of foure and twentie howers after carnall copulation. Some lawes also there are, concerning the purification of women after their moneths, and their child-birth: which, because we can make but little use of them, I do heere passe ouer in silence. One thing there is in this booke very well prouided, namely, that twice euery yeere there be a Synod assembled in the church of Christ, for the handling and discussing of all matters ecclesiasticall.

These are the principall points of the religion, faith, and ceremonies of the Ethiopicke church vnder Pretelanni, which hitherto haue come to our knowledge. A good part whereof is agreeable vnto the scriptures of the old and new testament. And such in very deed they are, as represent vnto the acknowledgement of one true God, and the faith and worship of our onely Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. But as neuer any church vpon earth was quite voide of blemish: so neither is this of Ethiopia free from all staines of errour. Which notwithstanding may seeme the lesse strange, because in Ethiopia there are no schooles nor Seminaries of liberall artes, saue only, that the priests themselfs (according to their simple skill) traine vp their sonnes vnto such learning, as may in time make them capable of priesthood. Neither was there euery man yet, that reformed their errors. Francis Aluarez reporteth, that the Patriarke of this Ethiopick church, in a certaine priuate conference, did grieuously complaine of all such errours as were there maintained, and was most earnestly desirous of a reformation. Which desire of his, as it is most holy & commendable; so is it by al christias to be approoued. God almightie grant, that the Ethiopians may one daie attaine to the accomplishment of this his compassionate well-wishing, and may haue a happie reformation of their church. For this to desire and praie for, is farre more conuenient and Christian-like, then to disgrace them with reprochfull words, and to bereaue them of the name of Christians. Which harde and vnchristian measure, Zagazabo the Ethiopian ambassadour, reporteth with griefe, that he found among the Popish priests of Portugall; by whom he was quite restrained from the vse and communion of the holie supper, as if he had beene a meere Gentile, or Anathema. It is indeed an errour, or rather a great infirmitie, that they do as yet retaine and use some of the Iewish ceremonies. But we are wholie to impute it to their ignorance of Christian liberty. And wheras they permit mariage to their priests, it is neither repugnant to the sacred word of God, nor to the institution of the Apostles. Wherefore it ought not to be disallowed of any Christians. Vnlesse they
will preferre the decrees of the Pope before the commandement of God, established by Christ and his apostles. Wherby it may plainly appeere how impiously and sauagely the Priests of Portugall dealt, in that especially for this cause they so sharply inued against the Ethiopick ambassadour, and so vniciuilly entreated him.

Their yeerely renewing of baptisme, was at the first brought in by errour, and since by ancient vse and tradition, hath growen authenticall. For in very deed so great is the force of antiquitie and custome, that where they once take roote, they can hardly be remooued. And it is a woonder that the Ethiopians do so often repeat baptisme, when as they cannot be circumcised any more then once. But in regard of all these defects, what can we better deuise to do, then in our daily praier to wish them minde better informed, and the puritie and integritie of faith, which is

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agreeable vtto gods worde ? The Ethiopians conceiucd exceeding ioy at the first arriuall of the Portugals in their countrie: hoping that their mutuall acquaintance and familiaritie, would breed a similitude and coniunction, as well of their religions, as of their affections and mindes. But I am verily afraid, least the reprochfull and sterne carriage of the Popish priests and monkes towards the Ethiopick ambassadours before mentioned, hath more then euer in times past estranged the mindes of that nation from the Christians of Europe.

Howbeit the singular care and industrie of those two renowned Princes, Iohn the second, and Emanuel, kings of Portugall, is most highly to be extolle d and celebrated, who by infinit charges emploied vpon their nauigations to The east Indies, and to these parts, haue opened a way for the European Christians, to the southerne church of Ethiopia; and for the Ethiopians to this western church of Europe. Which had not these two woorthie Princes brought to effect, we should not so much as haue knowne the name of a Christian church in Ethiopia. For thither by the way of Arabia and Egypt, in regard of the Arabians and Mahumetans most deadly enmitie to the Christian faith, it is so dangerous and difficult to trauell, as it seemeth to be quite barred and shut vp. Vnlesse therefore ouer the Atlantike, Ethiopick, and Indian seas the Portugals had thither found a passage by nauigation; it had almost beene impossible for any ambassadours or other persons, to haue come out of Ethiopia into these westerne parts. Thus farre Matthew Dresserus.

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An ambassage sent from Pope Paule the fourth to Claudius the Emjperour of Abassia or the hi -her Ethiopia, for planting of the religion and ceremonies of the church of Rome in his dominions; which ambassage tooke none effect at all.
N the yeere 1555 John the third king of Portugal, determined to leau e no meanes
vnattempted for the absolute reconciliation of Prete Janni vnto the church of
Rome. For though Davids ambassador had performed obedience to Pope
Clement the seventh on his emperours behalfe ; yet doubted the king of Portugal
(as true it was) that for want of speedie prosecution, those forward beginnings
would proue but altogether fruitlesse; in that for all this, they still embraced the
heresies of Dioscorus and Eutiches, and depended on the authoritie of the Patriark
of Alexandria, receiuing their Abuna from him, who is the sole arbitrator of all
their matters ecclesiasticall, the administrator of their sacraments, the guer of
orders ouer all Ethiopia, master of their ceremonies, and Instruc ter of their faith.
Whereupon he supposed, that he could not do anything more profitable, or
necessarie, then to send thither a Patriark appointed at Rome, who might exercise
spirituall authority ouer them, as also with him some priests, of singular integrity
and learning, who with their sermons, disputations, & discourses both publike and
pryvate, might reduce those people from their errors and heresies to the trueth, and
might confirme

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and strengthen them in the same. And vnto this, it seemed a wide gate was
already open ; because not many yeeres before, Claudius the emperour of
Ethiopia receiued great succours from the Portugals, against Graadamet king of
Zeila, who had brought him to an hard point ; and in a letter written from him to
Stephen Gama, he called Christopher Gama his brother, who died in this war, by
the reuerend name of a Martyr. The king of Portugal therefore hauing imparted
this his resolution, first with Pope Iulius the third, and then with Paul the fourth, it
was by them concluded to send into Ethiopia thirteene priests, men of principall
estimation and account aboue others of their qualitie. John Nunnes Barretto was
made Patriark, and there were ioyned vnto him two assisting Bishops, Melchior
Carnero, and Andrea Ouiedo, vnder titles of the Bishops of Nicea, and Hierapolis.
King John set forth this ambassage, not onely with whatsoeuer the voia ge it selfe
necessarily required, but further with all royall preparation, and rich presents for
Prete fanni. Neuerthelesse, the better to lay open an entrance for the Patriarke,
there was by the kings appointment sent before from the city of Goalgago Dias,
and with him Gonsaluo Rodrigo, into Ethiopia, to discouer the minde of the
Neguz, and the disposition of his people. These two being admitted to the
presence of that Prince, shewed him the letters of king John, wherein he
congratulated with him, on the behalfe of all Christians; for that following the
example of his grandfather, and father, he had embraced the Christian faith, and
vnion. Whereat Claudius was amazed, as at a thing neuer before thought of And it
being demaunded, why he had written to the king of Portugal to that effect, he
excused himselfe The Emperour
by the writer, and interpreter of his letter : adding there- qf Ethiopia wil
by no m?ean-es
unto, that though hee esteeemed that king as his very good admit the supremacie and
brother, yet was he neuer minded to swerue one iot from religion of the Romish
the faith of his predecessors. Roderigo for all this, was no ch., ch.

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whit daunted, but wrought all meanes to bring Claudius to his opinion. But the greatest difficultie against this his busie enterprise, was the ignorance of the emperour and the princes of Ethiopia in all the generall Councils, and ancient Histories. Afterwards perceiuing that the Neguz did not willingly admit him to audience, he wrote and diuulged a booke in the Chaldean toong; wherein confuting the opinions of the Abassins, he laboured mightily to advance the authoritie of the Romaine church. Which booke raised so great a tumult, that the emperour, to auoide woorse inconueniences which were likely to ensue, was faine quickly to suppresse it. Zago Diaz perceiuing that he did but lose time, & the terme of his returne approching, tooke his leaue of the Neguz. And hauing made knowne in Goa, how matters stood, it was not thought requisite that the Patriarke should expose his owne person, together with the reputation of the Romaine church, vnto so great hazard. But rather, not wholly to abandon the enterprise, they determined to send thither Andrew Ouiedo, (newe elect bishop of Hierapolis) with two or three assistants, who with greater authoritie might debate of that which Roderio alreadie had so vnfruitfully treated of. Ouiedo most willingly undertaking this attempt, put himselfe on the voyage, with father Emanuel Fernandez, and some fewe others. When he was come into Abassia he stood in more need of patience then disputation. For king Claudius within a fewe moneths after, being vanquished Adamtas a new and slaine, Adamas his brother succeede d, who was a great Emperor of Ethiopia. enemie to the sea of Rome. This man drew Ouiedo and his assistants, to the warres with him, and intreatdd them most barbarously, as also those Abassins whom they had conuerted. He likewise was afterwards ouerthrowne in battle by the Turkes, who stripped Ouiedo and his companions of all things that they had. Whereupon they grew into such pouertie and miserie, as (all helpe failing them)

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they were enforced to get their liuing with the plough and spade, till they all died one after another. This Ethiopian Christianitie is brought at this day to an hard point, by the inuasions of the Turkes and Mores, as is before declared. Notwithstanding their religious men affirme, that they haue prophesies of the comming of a Christian nation to their Ports from farre countries, with whom they shall go to the destruction of the Mores: and these they hold to bee Portugals. They haue farther, certaine presagements of Saint Sinoda, who was an Egyptian Hermite, of the ruine of Meca, the recouerie of the holy sepulcher, and the taking of Egypt and Cairo, by the Abassins, united with the Latines.

Of the Christians of the Isle of Socotera.
Icinitie of place and conformitie of customes inuite me Vto crosse the sea, and to visite the Christians of Socotera. This island is sixtie miles long, and flue and twentie in bredth. It is situate ouer against the Red sea. The people thereof receiued the faith from Saint Thomas the Apostle: for they affirme, that heere he suffered shipwracke, and that of the broken and battered ship he built a church, which is as yet extant. They imitate for the most part the rites, customes, and fashions of the Abassins, but with great ignorance and errour: for being separated from all commerce with the Christians of these parts, they remaine deprevied of that spirituall helpe, which the westerne church by communication might impart vnto them. They retaine circumcision, and some other Moisaicall ceremonies. Also they pray for the dead, and obserue ordinarie fasts: hauing prefixed howers for praier, and bearing great reuerence to their religion, in honour whereof, they build chappels, wherein assembling together, with an high and loude voice, they make supplications and prairs in the Hebrew toong. But their farre distance (as I said) from 3X2

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these parts of Christendome, the sterilitie of the island, and the pouertie of the people, are occasions that the little light of truth which they have, is in a manner quite eclipsed by multitudes of errors. Vnto other things may be added the Fartaca coun- tyrie of the king of Fartac a Mahumetan, who subdued trey of Arabia Felix; the king them about the yeere of our Lord 1482. and partly by whzereof subdued the isle of dominion, partly by affinitie and kinred, and partly also by Zocotera, 1482.

conuersation, brought in amongst them the deadly poison of Mahumet. From this seruitude they were delivered by Tristan dAcunna, one of the king of Portugals captaines; sixe and twentie yeeres after they fell into the same. And for their better securitie, he repaired the fortresse, leauing therein a Portugall garrison. But because the charges farre surmounted any benefite that came out of the island, not long after the said fortresse was ruinated, and the island abandoned by the Portugals. John the third king of Portugall had a great desire to assist and free them from the tyrannie of the Turkes: whereunto after the taking of Aden they were subiect. But for feare of prouoking the great Turke, or giuing him occasion to disturbing and molest those seas with his fleets, as also for the dispatching of other affaires he had in hand, he neuer went about that enterprise. Of the Christians of Nubia.

F Rancis Aluarez in his Aethiopicke relation, writeth, that he being at the court of Prete Janni, there arriued certaine ambassadors frb Nubia, to make sute vnto that prince, for some priests, and ministers of the Gospell and sacraments, by whom they might be instructed in the Christian faith. But Prete fanni answered them, that he had not enough for his owne countrey: whereupon they returned home very disc6tent, so
that having no help from the Christians, & on the other side being daily solicited by the Mahumetans, vpon whom they border on many sides,

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it is thought, that at this present, they remaine in a manner without any religion at all. Notwithstanding at this day, there are more then an hundred and fiftie churches standing, with divers other notes and signes of Christianitie. Their language partaketh much with the Egyptian, and no lesse with the Chaldean and Arabick.

Of the Christians in the kingdom of Congo.

Hitherto we haue described that little, which remaineth of the ancient Christianity of Africk. It now resteth, that we giue some notice of that, which hath beeene brought in of late. Congo is a kingdom about the bignes of France, situate (as is before said) beyond the equinoctiall betweene Cabo da Catherina, and Bahia das vacas. It was converted to Christian religion, by the meanes of Don John, the second king of Portugal, in manner following. Don Diego Cano a captaine of that king, by his commission coasting along Africa, after a great navigation, arriued at length in the great river of Zaire; and attempting to sail vp into it, he discovered along the banks thereof many townes, where he found much more affability in the inhabitants, then in those of other countries which before he had discouered. And that he might be able to give the more faithfull advertisement thereof to his king, his hart moued him to go to the court of that kingdom. Whither being come, and courteously brought to the kings presence, he shewed them the vanity of their Idolatry, & the high reuerence of christian faith. And he found in that Prince so good a disposition, as returning into Portugal, besides an ambassador he was permitted to carry with him certaine youths of noble parentage, to the end they might learne the Christian doctrine, and be well instructed therein; and being baptized also, might afterwards be sent back with Portugall priests to preache the gospel, and to plant the Christian faith in that kingdom. These youthes remained

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* So are the inhabitants of Congo called.
in Portugall two yeeres, and were there liberally entertained, and with all diligence instructed in matters of religion, and were at length with great solemnity baptized. When they came to riper yeeres, kinf John sent them back againe into their owne countrey, with an honorable ambassage, in whose company went for teachers and instructers of that nation three Dominick-Fryers, reputed for men of exquisit learning and holy life. Being arriued in Congo, they first converted Mani-Sogno the kings uncle, with one of his sonnes. After that ensued the baptism of the king and Queene; for which cause in short time, there was a goodly Church erected, vnder the name and title of Santa Cruz. And in the meane while there were infinit Idols burnt. The king was called John, the Queene Leonora, and his eldest sonne Alonso. This Alonso was a singular good man, who not being
satisfied in his owne conversion, laboured also with a kind of Apostolicall zeale for the conversion of his subjects. But let no man thinke, that the planting of religion can euer passe without some labour and trouble. These Dominick-Fryers, besides the intemperature of the aire and vnusuall heat, which consumed them, were also euilly entreated by the *MociCongi. For although they shewed themselves docible, and tractable enough, while they were instructed onely about ceremonies, and divinie mysteries, (because they thought, that the higher those matters were aboue humane capacity, the more they sorted and were agreeable to the maiestie of God) neuerthelesse when they began to entreate seriously of Temperance, continence, restitution of other mens goods, forgiuing of injuries, and other heades of Christian pietie, they found not onely great hinderance and difficultie, but euyn plaine resistance and opposition. The king himselfe, who had from the beginning shewed notable zeale, was now somewhat cooled; who because he was loth to abandon his soothsaiers and fortune-tellers, but aboue all, the mult-

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tude of his concubines (this being a generall difficultie among the Barbarians) would by no meanes gue care vnto the Preachers. Also the women (who were now reiected one after another) not enduring so suddenly to be banished from their husbandes, brought the court and roiall citie of Saint Saluador into a great vproare. * Paulo Aquitino *So called by Osorius lib. 3. second sonne to the king, put tow to this fire, who would de keb. Gest. Eman. But by by no meanes be baptized; for which cause there grew Phil. Pigafetta, lib. 2. great enmity betwixt him and Alonso his elder brother. CP. 2. MnISPango. who with all his power furthered the proceedings, and maintained the growth of the Christian religion. During these troubles, the old king died, and the two brothers fought a battell, which had this successe; that Alonso the *true heire, with sixe and thirtie soldiers, calling vpon the * Osorius de Reb. Gest. name of Iesus, discomfited the huge armie of his heathenish Ezan. lib. 3. brother. who was himselfe also taken alioe, and died prisoner in this his rebellion. God fauoured Alonso in this warre, with manifest miracles. For first they affirme, that being ready to enter into battaile, he saw a light so cleere and resplendent, that he and his companie which beheld it, remained for a good while with their eies declined, and their mindes so full and replenished with ioy and a kind of tender affection, that cannot easily be expressed. And then lifting vp their cies vnto heauci, they sawe flue shining swords, which the king tooke afterwards for his armes, and. his successors vse the same at this day. Hauing obtained this victorie, he assembled all his nobles, and streightly enoined them to bring all the idols of his countrey to an appointed place, and so vpon an high hill, he caused them all to be burned. This Alonso raigned prosperously for fiftie yeeres together, in which space he exceedingly furthered by authoritie and example, as also by 'preaching and doctrine, the new-planted Christianitie.
Neither did Don Emanuell the king of Portugall giue ouer this enterprise: for he sent from thence to Congo, twelue

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of those Fryers which the Portugals call Azzurri, of whom Fryer John Mklariano was head: with architects and smiths for the building and service of Churches, and with rich furniture for the same. After king Alonso, succeeded Don Pedro his sonne: in whose time there was a Bishop appointed ouer the isle of Saint Thomas, who had also committed vnto him the administration of Congo. Where, at the citie of Saint Salvador, was instituted a coiledge of eight and tventie Canons in the Church of Santa Cruz. The second bishop was of the bloud roiall of Congo, who travailed to Rome, and died in his returne homeward. Don Francisco succeeded Don Pedro, who continued but a small space: & Don Diego his neere kinsman was after his decease advanced to the crowne. In whose time John the third king of Portugall, understanding that neither the king himselfe cared greatly for religion, and that the merchants and priests of Europe furthered not, but rather with their bad life scandalized the people now converted, he sent thither fower lesuits, to renew and reestablish matters of religion. These men arriving first at the isle of Saint Thomas, and then at Congo, were courteously receiued by the king: and presently going about the busines they came for, one of them tooke vpon him to teach sixe hundred young children the principles of christian religion: and the others dispersed themselues ouer the whole countrie to preach. But all of them, one after another, falling into tedious and long diseases; they were enforced to returne into Europe. At this time there was appointed ouer Congo a third bishop of the Portugall nation, who through the contumacie of the Canons and clerig, found trouble enough. In the meane while Don Diego dying, there arose great tumults touching the succession, by meanes whereof, all the Portugals in a manner, that were in Saint Salvador (except priests) were slaine. In the end, Henrie brother to Don Diego obteined the crowne, and after him (for he quicklie died in the warres of the Anzichi) Don Aluaro his son in law. This man reconciled vnto himselfe the Portugall nation, caused all the religious and lay sort dispersed heere and there, throughout the kingdome, to be gathered together, and wrote for his discharge to the king, and to the Bishop of Saint Thomas. The bishop hauing perused the letters, passed himselfe into Congo: and giving some order for the discipline of the clergie, he returned to Saint Thomas, where hee ended his daies. It so fell out, that what for the absence, and what for the want of Bishoppes, the progression of religion, was much hindred. For one Don * Called by Philippo PigaFrancisco, a man for bloud and wealth of no small authoritie, fet Bulzabegan freely to say, that it was a vaine thing to cleaue tomatar e. one wife only, and afterwardes in the end, he fell altogither from the faith, and was an occasion that the king grew woonderfully cold. They affirme, that this Francisco
dying, and being buried in the church of Santa Cruz, the diuels vncovered a part
d of that churches rooffe, and with terrible noise drew his dead carcass out of the
tombe, and carried it quite away: a matter that made the king exceedingly amazed:
but yet another accident that ensued withall, stroke him nearer to the hart: For
the Giacchi leaving Concerniin, these Giacchi,
their owne habitationes, entred like Locusts into the king- otherwise called Agag,
dome of Congo, and comming to battaile against Don rad thedis,O,, se Of
Aluaro the king, put him to flight: who not being secure Mohenemu gi in the head
citie, abandoned his kingdom, and togethre before the beginning of
with the Portugall priests, and his owne princes, retired John Leo. himselfe vnto
an island of the river Zaire, called The isle of horses. Thus seeing himselfe
brought to such extremity (for besides the losse of his kingdom, his people died
of famine and miserie, and for maintenance of life sold themselves one to another,
and to the Portugals also at a base price) for reparation of his state and religion, he
had recourse to Don Sebastian king of Portugall, and obteined

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of him sixe hundred soldiers, by whose valour he draue his enimies out of the
kingdome, and within an yeere and an halfe, reestablished himselfe in his throne.
In his time Antonio di Glioua a Spaniard, was made bishop of Saint Thomas, who
after much molestation procured him by the captaine of that island, went at length
into Congo, with two friers and fower priests, and ordered matters reasonablie
well. In the meane while Don Aluaro died, and his sonne of the same name
succeeded him, who failed not to sollicithe, both Don Sebastian and Don Henrie
kings of Portugall, and the king of Spaine also, that they would send him some
competent number of preachers and ecclesiasticall persons for the augmentation
of the Christian faith in his kingdome: and amidst these determinations he died,
and a sonne of his called also Don Aluaro succeeded him.
During these tumults, certaine other Portugall Priests went into Congo, labouring
to prune that vine which had beene long time giuen ouer, and forsaken. These
men haue built them an house in the island of Loanda, where do remaie sixe or
seauen of their companie, that are readie to goe sometimes hither and sometimes
thither, as neede requireth. In the yeere of our Lord 1587. king Aluaro, (who
because hee was not borne of lawfull matrimony, was but little esteemed by his
people) would needes haue one of these priests about him, by whose meanes and
authoritie he came to reputation and credite. And God himselfe fauoured his
proceedings : for meeting a sister of his by the fathers side, and one of her
brothers, with a great armie in the feldie, he gave him battaile, and bore himselfe
therein with such valour, as he did not onely overthow the forces of his enimie but
further slew the ring-leader and generall thereof, and in the place where he was
slaine, he would needs build a church to the honour of Christianitie. And the more
by his owne example to mooue others,
himselfe was the very first man that put hand to this worke: and likewise with
edicts and fauourable proclamations, he furthered and doth still aduance the
preaching of the Gospell, and the propagation of religion.
Who so is desirous to be more fully instructed concerning the Christianitie of this
kingdome, let him read the third and eight booke of Osorius de Reb. gest. Eman.
& the second booke of Philippo Pigafetta his story of Congo, most properly and
decently translated by the iudicious master ABRAHAM HARTWELL.
Of the Christian religion in the kingdore of Angola.
T Hose Portugal priests that remaine in the Iland
Loanda, as aboue we declared, bend themselues more to the conversion of
Angola, then of Congo. The reason is (as I suppose) because the enterprise is new,
and more neerely concerneth the Portugals, who there make war vnder the
conduct of Paulo Diaz, to get possession of the mountaines of Cabambe which
abound with rich mines of very fine siluer. It seemeth that god hath fauoured the
amplification of his holy name in those parts with some myraculous victories. For
first in the yeere 1582, a fewe Portugals in an excursion that they made, put to
flight an innumerable companie of the Angolans. And by this victory, they
brought in a manner the halfe of that kingdome into their handes: and many
Princes and nobles of the land vpon this, were moued to request and make suit to
be baptized. Among whom was Songa prince of Banza, the kings Fathe r in law,
whose brother and children were baptized already. Tondella also, the second
person of Angola was converted: many Idols were throwne to the ground, and
insteede thereof they erected crosses, and built some churches. And within this
little while all the Province of Corimba is in a manner converted. Also in the
yeere 1584, an hundred and fiftie Portugals, together

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with such succors as were conducted by Paule Prince of Angola, who was not
long before converted; discomfited more then a million of Ethiopians. In an other
place we declared the readie meanes and opportunities that the Princes of Ethiopia
and of India haue, to assemble and bring together such infinite armies. They say,
that certaine Ethiopians being demaunded by a Portugal, how it came to passe that
so great a multitude turned their backes to so few men: they answered, that the
Portugals strength did it not, which with a blast they would haue confounded, but
a woman of incomparable beawty, appareled in shining light and brightnes, and
an old man that kept her company with a flaming sword in his hand, who went
aloft in the ayre before the Portugals, and ouerthrew the squadrons of the
Angolans, putting them to flight and destruction. In the yeere 1588, were
converted Don Paulo Prince of Mocumba, and with him a thousand persons more.
The Christian religion of Monomotapa.
N the dominions of the Monomotapa, the light of the
faith being with incredible ease kindled, was also as suddenly extinguished by the
deuises of the Mahumetans. For some Portugals going to the court of that
monarche, and giuing himselfe, with some of his Princes and vassals, a taste of
the gospel, were an occasion afterwards that Gonsaluo de Sylua, a man no lesse
famous for the integrity of his life, then for his bloud and parentage, went ouer thither from Goa in the yeere 1570. This man arriuing with a prosperus voiage, in the kingdome of Inambane, converted and baptized the king, his wife, children, and sister, with his Barons and nobilitie, and the greatest part of his people. Through whose perswasion Gonsaluo left his companions, prosecuting his voiage towards the Monomotapa, onely with sixe Portugals. Thus hauing passed Mozambique, and the mouth of the riuer Mafuta, IO6O

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and of Colimane, they came to Mongoaxano king of Quiloa, where they were courteously receiued & entertainted. And though they had licence in this place to preach the gospell, yet would not Gonsaluo here stay, iudging that vpon the converision of the Monomotapa, that of the neighbor kings would follow without delaie. Embarking themselves therefore vpon the riuer Cuama, they sailed along the coast of Africa eight daies, till they came to Sena, a very populous village: where Gonsaluo baptized about flue hundred slaues, belonging to the Portugal merchants, and prepared for the receiuing of the gospel the king of Inamor, one of the Monomotapaes vassals. In the ende Antonio Caiado a Portugall gentleman came from the court, to guide Gonsaluo towards the same place. Whither being in short time come, he was presently visited on the emperours behalfe, and bountifullie presented with a great summe of gold and many oxen. But he returning back these presents, gaue the Monomotapa to vnderstand, that he should know of Caiado, what he desired. The emperour was astonis hed at this his magnanimity, & receiued him afterwards with the greatest honor, that could possibly be devised. And causing him to sit vpon the same carpet, wheron also his owne mother sate, he presently demaunded how many women, how much ground, and how many oxen (thinges mightily esteemed of in those countreys) he would haue. Gonsaluo answered, that he would haue no other thing but himselfe. Whereupon the emperour turning to Caiado (who was their interpreter) said; that surely it could not be otherwise, but that he, who made so little acco unt of thinges so highly valued by others, was no ordinary man ; and so with much courtesie he sent him back to his lodging.

Not long time after, the emperour let Gonsaluo to vnderstand, that he and his mother were resolued to become Christians, and that therefore he should come to baptize them. But he to instruct them better in the faith, deferred it off for some dales. Finally flue and twentie daies after his arriuall, with unspeakable solemnity and preparation, he gave the water of baptisme to the king, and to his mother. He was called Sebastian, and shee Maria. And presently after, about three hundred of the principall in this emperours court were baptized. Gonsaluo for his wonderfull abstinence, charity, wisedome, and for many other his singular vertues was so reuerenced and esteemed by those people, as if he had come downe from heauen

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among them. Now as matters proceeded thus prosperously, and with so desirable successe, behold, an horrible tempest arose which drowned the ship. There were in the court fower Mahumetans most deere vnto the king. These men finding out some occasion, suggested vnto him, that Gonsaluo was a Magician, who by witchcraftes and enchantments could turne kingdomes topsie turie: and that he was come to prie into his estate, and to stir vp his people to rebellion, and so by this meanes to bring his kingdome vnder subjection to the Portugals. With these and such like suggestions they brought the king (who was but a young man) to determine the death of Gonsaluo. The effect whereof was, that after long praire, reposing himselfe a little; he was by eight of the kings seruants slaine, and his body throwne into the riuer Mensigine. Neere vnto the same place, were with like violence put to death fiftie newconverted Christians. This rage and furie being ouer, the king was advertized by the Principall of his kingdome, and then by the Portugals, of the excessse and outrage he had therein committed. He excused himselfe the best he could, causing those Mahumetans to be slaine, who had seduced him; and he sought out some others also who lay hid, to put them to death. Whereupon it seemed that by the death of father Gonsaluo, the conversion of this great king, and of his empire, should haue bin furthered, and no

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whit hindered, if the Portugals would rather haue prevailed by the word of God, then by force of armes. The which I say, because instead of sending new preachers into those countries, to preserve that which was alreadie gotten, and to make new conuersions, they resolved to reuenge themselves by warre. Ther departed therefore out of Portugall a good fleete, with a great number of noble Portugals therein, conducted by Francisco Barretto. At the fame of this warre, mued against him, the Monomotapa full of feare, sent to demand peace of Barretto. But he aspiring to the infinite mines of gold in that kingdome, contemned all conditions offered him. The effect of this enterprise was, that this armie which was so terrible to a mightie Monarke, was in fewe daies consumed by the intemperature of the aire, which is there insupportable to the people of Europe.

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Of the fortresses and colonies maintained by the j5,aniards and Portugals vjhon the maine of Africa: by meanes whereof the Christian religion hath there some small footing. V Which albeit in other respects they haue beene mentioned before, yet heere also in this one regard, it seemeth not from our purpose briefly to remember them.
Sivery fitly either to convert infidels vpon diuers occasions, or by getting an habite of their languages and customes, to make a more easie way to their conuersion. For those who are not sufficient to preach, serue for interpreters to the preachers. And thus God hath oftentimes beeene well serued, and with excellent fruit and effect, by the indeuour of some soldiers. On the coast of Africa vpon the Mediterranean sea, the Spaniards haue Oran, Mersalchibir, Melilla, &c., and the Portugals, Tanger, and 9euta, and without- the streights of Gibraltar, Arzilla, and Mazagan ; and in Ethiopia, Saint George de la mina. They haue also a setled habitation in the citie of Saint Salvador, the Metropolitan of the kingdome of Congo, and in Cumbiba, a countrie of Angola. Beyond the cape de Buena esperan-a, they hold the fortresses, and colonies of Sena, Cefala, and Mozambique.

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Heere besides their secular clergie, is a conuent of Dominicans, who indeuour themselues to instruct the Portugals, and the Pagans also which there inhabite, and do trafficie thither.

Of the Islands of the Atlanticke Ocean, where the Spaniards and Portugals haue planted religion.

T He Christian name is also augmented, and doth still increase in the Atlanticke Ocean, by meanes of the colonies conducted thither, partly by the Spaniards and partly by the Portugals. The Spaniards vndertookke the enterprize of the Canaries, in the yeere of our Lord 1405, vsing therein the assistance of John Betancort, a French gentleman, who subdued Lanqarota & Fuerteuentura. They were taken againe certaine yeares after, and were first subdued by force of armes, & afterwards by the establishment of religion: so that at this present, all the inhabitants are Christians. Also the Portugals have assaied to inhabite certaine other islands of that Ocean, & especially Madera, which was discovered in the yeere 1420. This at the first was all ouer a thicke and mightie wood : but now it is one of the best manured islands that is knowne. There is in the same, the citie of Funcial, being the seate of a bishop. Puerto santo, which is fortie miles distant from Madera, was found out in the yeere 1428. and this also began presently to be inhabited. The isles of Arguin, being sixe or seauen, and all but little ones, came to the knowledge of the Portugals in the yeere 1443. Heere the king hath a fortresse for the traffike of those countries. The islands of Cabo Verde were discovered in the yeere 1446. by Antonio di Nolli a Genoway, or (as others affirme) in the yeere 1455. by Aloizius Cadamosto. These be nine in number: the principall of them is Sant Iago, being seuentie miles in length: where the Portugals haue a towne situate vpon a most pleasant riuer, called Ribera 3Y io65

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* Not Mazagan vpon the coast of Barbarie.

grande, which consisteth at the least of flue hundred families. The isle of Saint Thomas being somewhat greater then Madera, was the last island discovered by the Portugals, before they doubled the cape De buena Esperanna. They haue heere
a colonie called Pouasaon, with a bishop, who is also the bishop of Congo, and it containeth seuen hundred families. Vnder the gouverment of Saint Thomas are the neighbour islands of Fernando P6, and that del Principe, which as it were boroughs belonging to the same. The island Loanda, though it be vnder the king of Congo, yet is a great part thereof inhabited by the Portugals. For here is the famous port of *Mazagan, whither the ships of Portugall and Brasil e do resort. Heere the fleetes are harboured, and the soldiers refreshed, and heere they have their hospital. As also heere the Portugall priests (who indueour the convoersion of the naturall inhabitants) haue a place of residence.

Of the Negros.

Most of the Islands inhabited by the Portugals, especially those of Saint Thomas and Madera besides the Portugals themselves, contain a great multitude of Negro-slaues, brought thither out of Congo and Angola, who till the earth, water the sugar-canes, and serue both in the cities, and in the countrie. These are for the most part gentiles, but they are daily converted rather through continual converson, then any other helpe that they haue; and it is a matter likeli, that in processe of some few yeeres, they will all become Christians. There is no greater hinderance to their convoersion, then the auarice of their masters, who to hold them in the more subiection, are not willing that they should become Christians,

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Of those poore distressed European Christians in Africa, who are holden as slaues vnto the Turkes and Mores.

B Vt the best and most sincere christianity in all Africa, is that of those poore christians, who are fettered by the feet with chains, being slaues to the Arabians & Turkes. For besides them that haue remained there euer since the daies of Barbarossa and other Turkish captaines (which were brought into the mediterran seas by the French) as also since the great losse at Gerbi, and the battell of Alcazar wherein Don Sebastian the king of Portugal was ouerthrowne: there passeth not a yeere, but the rouers and pirates of those parts, without granting any league or respite to the Northen shore of the Mediterraean sea, take great numbers of Christians from off the coasts of Spaine, Sardinia, Corsica, Sicilia, yea euen from the very mouth of Tyber. It is generally thought, that the number of slaues, which are in Alger amount to eighteene thousand. In Tunis, Bona, and Biserta there are great multitudes: but many more in Fez, and Maroco; as likewise in Mequenez and Tarodant, and in diuers other cities of those kingdomes. The estate surely of these distressed people is most worthie of compassion, not so much for the miserie wherein they lead their liues, as for the danger whereto their soules are subiect. They passe the day in continuall travaile, and the greatest part of the night without repose or quiet, vnder insupportable burdens, and cruell stripes. Beasts among vs labour not more, nor are more slauishly intreated. Yea, albeit vnder those brutish Barbarians, they endure all that toile, which beasts do heere with vs: yet are they neither so well fed, nor so carefully looked vnto, as our beasts commonly are. They weare out the whole day
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hand-milles, feeding of beasts, or in performance of other labours: being bound to bring in so much every day to their masters, and they themselves to Hue of the rest, which many times is nothing at all, or (if it were possible) lesse then nothing. They haue alwaies the chaine at their neckes and feete, being naked winter and sommer, and therefore are sometimes scorched with heate, and otherwhiles frozen with cold. They must not faile in any iotte of their duties, and yet though they do not, it can not be expressed with what cruelties they are tormented. They use for the chastizing & torture of their bodies, chaines of iron, dried sinewes of oxen, but-hoops steeped in water, boiling oile, melted tallow, & scalding hot lard. The houses of those Barbarians resound againe, with the blowses that are giuen these miserable men, on the feete and bellie: and the prisons are filled with hideous lamentations and yellings. Their companions hair at this noise standes an end, and their very blood freezeth within them, by considering how neere themselves are to the likeoutrages. They passe the nights in prisons, or in some caues of the earth, being hampered and yoaked together like brute beasts. Heere the vapor and danfe choaketh them, and the vnclennness and filth of their lodging consumeth them (as rust doth iron) euene alioye. But though the labours of their bodies be so grieuous, yet those of their minde are much more intolerable, for (besides that they want such as might feed them with the word of God, & with the sacramentes, and might teach them how to liue and die well, so as they remaine like plants without moisture) it can not be expressed, with what forcible temptations their faith is continuallie assailed. For not onelie that desire to come forth of these vnspeakeable miseries, doth tempt them; but the commodities and delights also wherein they see others to liue, that haue damnablie renounced their Christianity. The persecutors of the primitiue church, to

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induce the Martyrs to denie Christ and to sacrifice to their idols, tried them first with torments, and then with ease and delights, which they propounded unto them, if they would become as themselues. For to those, who in the middest of winter were throwne into frozen lakes, there were contrarywise appointed soft and delicate beds, with a fier kindled hard by, and a thousand other restoraties and comforts; to the end they might be doublie tempted, both by the rigor of the cold which numbed them, and by the sweetnes of thinges comfortable and nourishing, which allured them. The Christian slaves are at this day no lesse tormented; for on the one side, they are afflicted with beggerie, nakedness, hunger, famine, blowses, reproches, and tortures, without any hope in a manner euer to come out thereof; and on the other side they see them that haue reneged our holy faith for Mahumets superstition, to liue in all worldly prosperitie and delight, to abound with wealth, to flourish in honour, to gouerne cities, to conduct
armies, and to enjoy most ample libertie. But amidst all these so great miseries, they have a double comfort. The one is of priests, who together with themselves were taken captive. These men sometimes administering the sacraments, & other whilsts delivering the word of God in the best manner that they can, are some helpe and assistance to others, being for this greatly reverence and respected amongst them. The other is of the religious in generall, who contend and labour for their freedome. Wherein Spaine deserveth most high commendation. For there be two most honorable orders, whose exercise it is, to move and sollicite for the freedome of captives. The one is called La orden de la merced, and it flourishteth most in Aragon; and the other (which is farre greater) is named Del Resgate or of ransom or redemption, the which although it largely extendeth over all France, yet at this day above all other places, it is most rife in Castilia, 1070

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From whence some of them have gone into Sicilie, to the kingdom of Naples, and to Rome: and have there begun to lay foundations of their convents. These two religious orders gather every yeere mightie summes of money wherewith they make speedy redemption of the foresaid captives. They send their Agents to Fez, and to Alger, who managing this affaire, with no lesse diligence, then loyalty, redeeme first all the religious, and priests, and after them those of the younger sort, first the king of Spaines subjects, and then others. They alwaies leaue one religious man in Alger, and another in Fez, who informe themselues of the state & qualitie of the slaues, with their necessitie, to make the better way for their libertie the yeere following. The king of Spaine (whom it most concerneth) furthereth this so charitable a worke, with a bountifull and liberal hand. For ordinarily he giueth as much more, as the foresaid orders haue gathered and collected by way of almes. For this is so good an enterprise, that by the ancient canons no other is so much fauoured and allowed of. Yea S. Ambrose and other holy men haue pawned, for the deliuerie of Christian captiues, the chalices and siluer vessels of their churches. And Saint Paulinus for the same end and purpose, solde his owne selfe. For all other actions of charitie are some spirituall, and others corporall, but this in a very eminent degree is both spirituall and corporall togethers. For among corporall miseries the seruitude of `infidels is most grieuous, & among spirituall calamities the danger of apostasie is of all others the greatest: but those slaues so redeemed, are set free both from the one and from the other. Whereupon there are very few borne in Spain, who dying, leaue not some almes behinde them, for the ransoming of slaues. The fathers of redemption have gone also many times to Constantinople: where in the yeere 1583. by the order of Pope Gregorie the thirteenth, they redeemed five hundred persons. The brotherhood also of the Confalone in Rome, labour verie diligently in this point, who in Sixtus Quintus time, redeemed a great number of captiues. Of whom many also, vrged partly by the hardnes of seruitude,
& partly by the sweetenes of libertie, free themselues, either by that which they
gaine ouer & aboue their masters due, or by their good demeanour, or else by
flight. And they flue awaie, sometimes by repairing speedily to such fortresses as
the king of Spaine hath in Africke and in Barbarie: and otherwhiles they seize on
some shipping, or on the selfe same galleis wherein they are chained. Many also
retire themselfes to the Princes of Brisch, &c. who willingly receiue and arme
them, vsing their assistance in the warre which they continually make with the
Turkes of Alger.
FI NIS.
1071

GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX
TO
THE HISTORY OF LEO AFRICANUS.
DR. BROWN left no MS. maps to illustrate his edition of LEO AFRICANUS,
and as a work of this description would hardly have proved acceptable without
maps, the Council of the Hakluyt Society decided that a suitable set should be
specially prepared.
The compiler intended, at first, to accept all identifications put forward in Dr.
Brown's voluminous notes, and to adhere strictly to the spelling of place and tribal
names, as it appears in Pory's translation. He found, however, that Dr. Brown had
omitted, in several instances, to indicate the geographical position of the places
mentioned by his author, or had accepted the more than doubtful identifications of
preceding commentators. Under these circumstances he preferred to proceed on
independent lines.
First as to the spelling. No attempt has been made to transcribe the spelling of the
Italian version, and the names familiar to students of historical geography have
been retained. The names on the maps are spelt, as a rule, according to the Italian
version, but other modes of spelling employed by translators, or varieties to be
found in the same edition of the "History", have been added within brackets ; as
also, in numerous instances, a correct version of the name, agreeably to the rules
recommended by the Royal Geographical Society. This last is printed in italics.
Thus, in the entry -Ain Elcalla (Hain Elchallu, Ain el Kala), "Ain Elcalla" will be
found in our map, " Hain Elchallu" in Temporal's version, whilst "A in el Kala" is
a correct version of the name.
Names from Marmol's Africa have been freely introduced.
In most instances in which the compiler of the maps differs from Dr. Brown's
identifications of place-names the authorities upon which he depends are
concisely indicated (as instances, see Goran, Beni Gumi, Bito, Casair, Guangara,
etc.).
Out of about 620 place and tribal names mentioned by Leo, as many as 420 could
be confidently placed upon the map, as there exist at the present day and in the
localities indicated by our author, places or sites still bearing the ancient name, or,
in a few instances, well-
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authenticated ruins. In all these cases the modern name is given in italics, but without brackets, thus Casena (Chesena) Kalsena.
Numerous other places could be located approximately from the descriptions given by Leo or by other authors. In many instances, however, this information is too vague to be of service, or irreconcilable with what we know of the geography of Northern Africa. This applies more especially to the towns in Hea, which were in ruins even in the days of Leo, and to the various ranges of the Atlas. We have, nevertheless, recorded names of this kind upon the maps, usually with a note of interrogation affixed to them, as such a record may prove of service to future inquirers.
The routes followed by Leo Africanus are shown in red, as far as can be made out from the very fragmentary references given in his work. Whether Leo really performed those extensive journeys in the Sudan for which he claims credit (pp. 124, 128) may fairly be doubted. The information he furnishes is very scanty, and in several instances quite contrary to fact (see below, under "Niger"). The principal names mentioned in Pory's Introduction and in the Appendices have been included in the Index, and their geographical position has been indicated, but they have only in exceptional cases been inserted upon the maps.
The column headed "Maps" is to be read as follows
The Roman numerals, I-VII, indicate the number of the map on which the name is to be found; the Arabic numerals give the latitude and longitude of the place in degrees; thus IV, 32, 3 W., is to be read: Map IV, latitude 32° north, longitude 30 west of Greenwich.
The black figures indicate pages where place-names are dealt with more fully than elsewhere.
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this river rises in some mountains in the West, flows East and forms a lake. Such,
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